ROUTLEDGE

Personification in the Greek World

From Antiquity to Byzantium

Edited by

Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin

CENTRE FOR HELLENIC STUDIES, KING'S COLLEGE LONDON

PERSONIFICATION IN THE GREEK WORLD: FROM ANTIQUITY TO BYZANTIUM

Centre For Hellenic Studies
King's College London

KING'S College LONDON
University of London

Publications 7

PERSONIFICATION IN THE GREEK WORLD:

From Antiquity to Byzantium

edited by

Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2005 by Ashgate Publishing

Published 2017 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

Copyright © 2005 Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin

The editors have asserted their moral right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as the editors of this work.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Notice:
Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Personification in the Greek World: From Antiquity to Byzantium. – (Publications for the Centre for Hellenic Studies, King's College London; 7)
1. Greek literature – Themes, motives. 2. Personification in literature.
3. Personification in art. 4. Mythology, Greek in literature. 5. Mythology, Greek in art. 6. Greece – Religious life and customs. I. Stafford, Emma. II. Herrin Judith.
III. King's College, London. Centre for Hellenic Studies.
880.9'15

US Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Personification in the Greek World: From Antiquity to Byzantium / edited by Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin.
p. cm. – (Publications for the Centre for Hellenic Studies, King's College London; 7)
Includes biographical references.
1. Personification in art. 2. Arts, Greek. 3. Cults – Greece – History – To 1500.
I. Stafford, Emma. II. Herrin, Judith. III. Series. IV. Publications (King's College (University of London). Centre for Hellenic Studies); 7.
NX650.P48P47 2004
700'.415–dc22 2004016984

Typeset by W.M. Pank, King's College London.

ISBN 13: 978-0-7546-5031-7 (hbk)

THE CENTRE FOR HELLENIC STUDIES,
KING'S COLLEGE LONDON, PUBLICATIONS 7

Contents

Contributors vii

List of Figures xi

Editors' Introduction xix

Part I Origins and varying modes of personification

1. Hesiod in context: abstractions and divinities in an Aegean-Eastern koiné
Walter Burkert 3
2. Disaster revisited: Ate and the Litai in Homer's *Iliad*
Naoko Yamagata 21
3. Brightness personified: light and divine image in ancient Greece
Eva Parisinou 29
4. The gender of Death
Diana Burton 45
5. The Greek heroes as a 'personification' of the past in the present
Kerasia Stratiki 69
6. Neo-Platonic personification
Lucas Siorvanes 77

Part II Personification in myth and cult

7. Side: the personification of the pomegranate
Efthymios G. Lazongas 99
8. Personified abstractions in Laconia: suggestions on the origins of Phobos
Nicolas Richer 111
9. Situational aesthetics: the deification of Kairos, son of Hermes
Arlene Allan 123
10. Eros at the Panathenaea: personification of what?
Irina Kovaleva 135

Part III The poet and his work

11. The Muses: creativity personified?
Penelope Murray 147
12. A lover of his art: the art-form as wife and mistress in Greek Poetic Imagery
Alan H. Sommerstein 161
13. Personifications of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in Hellenistic and Roman art
Kristen Seaman 173

Part IV Looking at personifications

14. Eunomia or 'make love not war'?: Meidian personifications reconsidered
Barbara E. Borg 193
15. From Drunkenness to a Hangover: maenads as personifications
Amy C. Smith 211
16. Personifications and *paideia* in Late Antique mosaics from the Greek East
Ruth Leader-Newby 231
17. Rivers of Roman Antioch
Janet Huskinson 247

Part V Images of power, time and place

18. *Poleos erastes:* The Greek city as the beloved
Yorgis Yatromanolakis 267
19. Personification in impersonal context: late Roman bureaucracy and the illustrated *Notitia dignitatum*
Iskra Gencheva-Mikami 285
20. Good Luck and Good Fortune to the Queen of Cities: empresses and Tyches in Byzantium
Liz James 293
21. The Labours of the Twelve Months in twelfth-century Byzantium
Elizabeth Jeffreys 309

Consolidated Bibliography 325
Index 359
Index of Modern Authors 375

About the Contributors

Arlene Allan is Lecturer in Classics at the University of Otagar, having previously been Visiting Lecturer at Northwestern University (2001–02) and Assistant Professor at Trent University (2002–04). She held the Leventis Graduate Research scholarship at the University of Exeter from 1998–2001, successfully completing her PhD, *The Lyre, The Whip and the Staff of Gold: Readings in the Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, in 2003.

Barbara E. Borg is Lecturer in Classics at the University of Exeter, having previously been Hochschuldozentin at the Institute of Classical Archaeology at the University of Heidelberg, Germany. Among her major fields of interest are the iconography and the 'rhetorics' of images, both Greek and Roman. The same interest guided her study of personifications, which is the subject of her *Der Logos des Mythos: Allegorien und Personifikationen in der griechischen Kunst* (Munich 2002).

Walter Burkert has been Professor of Classics at the University of Zürich (1969–96) and visiting professor at Harvard, Berkeley and other universities in the USA. His research concentrates on ancient Greek philosophy and religion, their interrelation, oriental contacts, and perspectives of anthropology. His major publications include *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (Harvard 1972), *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Sather Lectures 1979), *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical* (Harvard 1985), *The Orientalizing Revolution* (Harvard 1992), *Creation of the Sacred: Tracks of Biology in Early Religions* (Harvard 1996).

Diana Burton is Lecturer in Classics at Victoria University of Wellington. Her research interests centre around death and immortalisation in ancient Greek myth, and particularly the iconography of death-related figures. She is working on a book on the immortalisation of heroes in archaic Greek art and myth.

Iskra Gencheva-Mikami was Assistant and then Associate Professor in Roman History and Late Antiquity at the University of Sofia 'St. Climent Ohridski' and the New Bulgarian University, Sofia (1993–2001). She is currently a visiting professor at the Department of Religious Studies, University of Tokyo, Japan. Among her main research interests and publications are various aspects of Roman imperial bureaucracy: bureaucracy and art, bureaucracy and religion, bureaucracy and politics. Her research on the *Notitia dignitatum* is connected with these major fields of interest.

Judith Herrin is Professor of Late Antique and Byzantine Studies at King's College London. From 1995 to 2002 she was Director of the Centre for Hellenic Studies, KCL, which sponsors conferences such as the one devoted to Personification and publishes the proceedings. Her most recent book is *Women in Purple. Rulers of Medieval Byzantium* (2001) and she is currently working on an introductory study, a Byzantium for beginners.

Janet Huskinson is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Classical Studies at the Open University. Her research interests are in the art of Roman empire and its relationship with the society which produced and used it, and she has also written on sarcophagi and portrait sculpture.

Liz James is a Reader in the Department of Art History, University of Sussex, where she teaches Byzantine art. Her book, *Empresses and Power in Early Byzantium* (London 2001) looks at the representations of female power in Byzantium and she is interested in the changing iconographies of empresses.

Elizabeth Jeffreys is Bywater and Sotheby Professor of Byzantine and Modern Greek Literature in the University of Oxford, and Fellow of Exeter College. She works on texts that are at the interface between spoken and written medieval Greek. Her recent publications include editions of the fourteenth-century *War of Troy* and the twelfth-century epic-romance *Digenis Akritis*.

Irina Kovaleva is Associate Professor of Classics at Moscow State Lomonosov University. She has been British Academy Visiting Scholar (1995) and Alexandros S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation Scholar (1996). She has published over 70 essays on ancient Greek mythology, philosophy and literature, as well as on Modern Greek and Russian literature. Her PhD thesis was on *The Peculiarities of the Genre of Maximus of Tyre's* Orationes (1990), and her publications include: *Joseph Brodsky, Centaurs: Antique Motifs* (St Petersburg 2001); (in Russian) *Miltos Sachtouris, The Head of a Poet* (Moscow 2003); (translation into Russian and introductory article) *Metamorfoseis poleon* (Moscow, 2003). She is currently working on a monograph on Greek mythology, *Teiresias and Actaion: Narrative and Non-Narrative Structures of Myth*.

Efthymios G. Lazongas is a researcher in archaeology. His doctoral research, submitted during the year 2004 in the University of Paris 1, Pantheon-Sorbonne, is entitled *NAOS. La symbolique du temple grec dans l'art et la religion*. The place of symbols in Greek religion is his major area of research, though he is also interested in other aspects of Greek religion, in architecture, in decorative patterns and in iconography.

Ruth Leader-Newby recently held a British Academy postdoctoral fellowship in the Department of Classics, King's College London. Her research interests include the relationship between education and visual culture in late antiquity, and the role of inscriptions and name-labels in late Roman art. She is also the author of *Silver and Society in Late Antiquity: Aspects and Meanings of Silver Plate in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries AD* (Aldershot 2004).

Penelope Murray is Senior Lecturer in Classics at the University of Warwick. She has written on a wide variety of topics in ancient literature and is particularly interested in poetics. Her publications include *Plato on Poetry* (Cambridge 1996) and *Music and the Muses in Classical Athenian Culture*, ed. with Peter Wilson (Oxford 2004).

Eva Parisinou is Associate Lecturer at the Open University. She is author of a book on light in Greek cult (*The Light of the Gods: the Role of Light in Archaic and Classical Greek Cult*, Duckworth 2000) and several articles on Greek social history, art and archaeology.

Nicolas Richer is Professor of Greek History at the Ecole Normale Supérieure, Lettres et Sciences Humaines, Lyon, having previously worked at the University of Strasbourg (Strasbourg-II). He has written especially about Archaic and Classical Sparta (*Les Éphores. Études sur l'histoire et sur l'image de Sparte (VIIIe–IIIe siècle avant Jésus-Christ*, Paris 1998).

Kristen Seaman is a PhD candidate at the University of California at Berkeley. She received her BA from Yale University and was a Regular Member and Fulbright Fellow at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens during 2002–03. She has excavated in Greece, Italy and Israel, and her main research interests are sculpture and the interrelationship of art and text.

Amy C. Smith is Lecturer in Classics and Curator of the Ure Museum of Greek Archaeology at the University of Reading. She is interested in Greek and Roman art, particularly in the spheres of politics, myth, and religion. Her work on personifications comprises several articles and a forthcoming book, *Personifications of Political Ideas in Classical Athenian Art.* She is currently writing a volume of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* for the Ure Museum.

Lucas Siorvanes is Lecturer in Philosophy, member of the Centre for Hellenic Studies, Kings College University of London. He has been a Dumbarton Oaks Fellow and Fulbright Senior Scholar. Author of *Proclus. Neo-Platonic Philosophy and Science* (Edinburgh and New Haven 1996). He has articles in *Ancient Philosophy*, *Ancient and Medieval Philosophy*, *Documenti e Studi Filosofica Medievale*, also in the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (1998) and the *Encyclopedia of Greece and the Hellenic Tradition* (London and Chicago 2000). With J.O. Urmson, *Simplicius: Corollaries on Place and Time*, *The Ancient Commentators on Aristotle* (Ithaca and London 1992).

Alan H. Sommerstein is Professor of Greek and Director of the Centre for Ancient Drama and its Reception (CADRE), University of Nottingham. He has published widely on Greek tragedy and comedy, and also on aspects of the Greek language. His major publications include *Aeschylean Tragedy* (Bari 1996), *Greek Drama and Dramatists* (London and New York 2002), and editions of the eleven comedies of Aristophanes (Aris & Phillips 1980–2001) and of Aeschylus' *Eumenides* (Cambridge 1989). He is at present preparing a collaborative edition of selected fragmentary tragedies of Sophocles.

Emma Stafford is Senior Lecturer in Classics at the University of Leeds. The place of personifications in Greek religion is her major area of research, though she is also interested in other aspects of Greek religion and in iconography. Her publications include *Worshipping Virtues: Personification and the Divine in Ancient Greece* (Swansea and London 2000).

Kerasia Stratiki is a PhD student at the University of Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV). Her major area of research is the place of heroic cult in ancient Greek religion, and the socio-political function of heroes and heroines in the Greek *polis*. Her research interests also include other aspects of Greek religion in literature, in archaeology and in iconography.

Naoko Yamagata is Lecturer in Classical Studies at the Open University. Her main area of interest is epic poetry, especially Homer and Hesiod. Her article in this volume revisits from a new angle the topic of Ate and the Litai discussed in her book *Homeric Morality* (Leiden 1994), chapter 4.

Yorgis Yatromanolakis is Professor of Classics at Athens University. He has published widely on ancient Greek literature, especially on Greek tragedy, post-Homeric literature and the ancient novel, and on Greek literary criticism. He has translated into modern Greek Euripides' *Medea*, Aristophanes' *Ploutos*, Horace's *Ars Poetica*, Ovid's *Remedia Amoris*, Achilles Tatius, Dictys Cretencis and others. He has also published on modern Greek literature, especially on D. Solomos, C.P. Cavafy, G. Seferis, O. Elytis, A. Empeirikos, Y. Ritsos, etc. Four of his novels are now in print in English. He is at the present preparing a new translation of the *Iliad*.

List of Figures

3.1a	Aniconic celestial bodies. Gold ring from grave circle A, Mycenae, c. 1500 BC Athens National Museum 992. After Cook 1925, vol. 2, p. 47 fig. 18.	40
3.1b	Aniconic celestial bodies. Gold ring from Tiryns, c. 1500 BC, Athens National Museum 6208. After Nilsson 1950, p. 147 fig. 55 (26).	40
3.2a-b	The chariot of Helios. a) Drawing from an Attic black-figure lekythos, c. 490 BC. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR78.1864 (G100). b) Drawing from an Attic black-figure amphora by the Diosphos Painter, c. 480–70 BC. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 220. Both drawing: after Cook 1914, vol. 1, p. 335 figs 267–8.	40
3.3	The chariot of Helios. Drawing from an Apulian bell-krater by the Painter of Heidelberg U6 (Judgement Group), c. 360–40 BC. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum IV 1131. After Cook 1914, vol. 1, p. 337 fig. 269.	41
3.4	Stars dive into the sea at sunrise. Attic red-figure calyx-krater, c. 450–400 BC. London E466. Photo: © British Museum.	42
3.5	Detail of a Panathenaic amphora from Eretria, c. 363/2 BC: statue of a Nike holding a racer's torch. Athens, National Museum 20048,. After Valavanis 1991, pl. 32b. Photo: courtesy of the Athenian Archaeological Society.	43
3.6	Torch-bearing Erinys in scene with Ixion on the wheel. Drawing from a Campanian amphora. Berlin, Staatliche Museen F3023. After Cook 1914, vol. 1, pl. XVI.	43

4.1 Hypnos and Thanatos carry off the body of Sarpedon. Attic red-figure calyx krater by Euphronios, c. 520–10 BC. New York 1972.11.10. Photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. 61

4.2 Thanatos at Talos' feet. Attic red-figure krater fragment, from Spina, late fifth century BC. Ferrara 3092. Photo: Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Ferrara. 61

4.3 Thanatos helps Jason kill Talos. Attic red-figure column krater, from Montesarchio, c. 440-430 BC. Benevento, Museo del Sannio. Photo: museum. 62

4.4 Thanatos pursued by a youth. Attic white-ground lekythos by the Bowdoin Painter, from Gela, c. 460–50 BC. Hawaii, Honolulu Academy of Arts 2893. Photo: museum. 62

4.5 Thanatos and Hypnos lay a body to rest. Attic white-ground lekythos by the Thanatos Painter, from Ampelokopoi, c. 450 BC. London D58. Photo: © British Museum. 63

4.6 Thanatos and Hypnos lay a body to rest. Attic white-ground lekythos by the Quadrate Painter, c. 420 BC. Athens NM 1928. Photo: Archaeological Receipts Fund. 63

4.7 Thanatos and Alkestis (?). Marble column drum from the Artemision, Ephesos, c. 350 BC. London 1206. Photo: © British Museum. 64

4.8 Thanatos pursues Alkestis. Attic white-ground lekythos of Group R, c. 430 BC. Paris, Louvre CA1264. Photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux. 64

4.9 A sphinx carries off a youth. Attic red-figure lekythos, c. 470 BC. Kiel, Kunsthalle B553. Photo: museum. 65

4.10 Hekate flanked by Erinyes. Attic black-figure lekythos by the Beldam Painter, c. 470 BC. Athens, NM 19765. Photo: Archaeological Receipts Fund. 65

4.11 An Erinys with her snakes. Attic white-ground lekythos by the Bowdoin Painter, from Sicily, 460-450 BC. Basle Lu60 (formerly Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum ZA1). Photo: Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig. 66

4.12 Thanatos attends Ixion's victim. Attic red-figure kantharos by the Amphitrite Painter, c. 450 BC. London BM E 155. Photo: © British Museum. 66

4.13 Orestes and two Erinyes. Lucanian red-figure nestoris by the Brooklyn-Budapest Painter, c. 380–60 BC. Naples, Mus. Naz. 82124 (H1984). Photo: Soprintendenza per I Beni Archeological Receipts Fund. 67

4.14 Thomas Cooper Gotch, *Death the Bride*, Alfred East Art Gallery, Kettering, England (Kettering Heritage Collection). Photo: Bridgeman Art Library. 68

6.1 Neo-Platonist philosopher head, fourth- or fifth-century AD. Athens National Museum 581. Photo: Archaeological Receipts Fund. 96

8.1 Lead figurine of a standing billy-goat from the Spartan sanctuary of Orthia. Preserved height 4.6 cm. Reproduced from Dawkins 1929, pl. 184, by kind permission of the British School at Athens. 122

13.1 The blind Homer. Herm portrait. London inv. 1825. Photo: © British Museum. 182

13.2 The Archelaos Relief, late third century BC. London inv. 2191. Photo: © British Museum. 183

13.3 Detail of 13.2. Photo: author, © British Museum. 184

13.4 The apotheosis of Homer, with the *Iliad* (left) and *Odyssey* (right). Silver cup, Naples inv. 24301. Line drawing Reinach 1912, fig. 76.1. 185

13.5 Agora '*Iliad*', early second century AD. Athens, Agora Museum S 2038. Photo: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations. 186

13.6 Agora *Odyssey*, early second century AD. Athens, Agora Museum S 2039. Photo: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations. 187

13.7 Agora plinth. Athens, Agora Museum I 6628. Photo: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations. 188

13.8 Man flanked by two women. Roman sarcophagus. Paris, Louvre MA 1497 and 1500. Photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY. 189

13.9 Homer flanked by the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Fragmentary late Roman mosaic from Seleukeia. Antalya Museum. Photo: museum. 189

14.1 (From left to right) Chryse, Eunomia, Nike or Dike, Eukleia. Ullastret, Mus. Monográphico 1486. Photo: Museu d'Archeologia de Catalunya-Ullastret. 205

14.2 Eukleia offers the seated Eunomia a box (top left). Mainz, Universität, Archäologisches Institut 118. Photo: Institut für Klassische Archäologie, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Antikensammlung. 206

14.3 Himeros and Pothos pull Aphrodite's chariot. Florence, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale 81947 (detail). Photo: Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana-Firenze. 207

14.4 (From left to right) Hygieia, Eunomia, Paidia, Eudaimonia, Himeros, Harmonia (seated), Kale, Aphrodite, Pothos and Hedylogos. London, British Museum E 775. Photo: © British Museum. 208

14.5 (From left to right) Kleopatra, Eunomia, Paidia, Aphrodite (Eros), Peitho, Eudaimonia. London, British Museum E 697. Drawing: after Furtwängler-Reichold pl. 78.2. 208

14.6 Chorillos and Paidia. Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Mus. L 492 = H 4633. Photo: Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg, Antikenabteilung. 209

14.7 Paidia pushes Himeros on a swing. Munich, Antikensammlung 2520. Drawing: after Roscher, ML III.1 1251-2 s.v. 'Paidia'. 210

15.1 Hermes and baby Dionysos among maenads, one named Tethys, on side A of a bell krater attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter. London, British Museum E 492. Photo: © British Museum. 224

15.2 Hermes and baby Dionysos among maenads, one labelled Methyse, on side A of a calyx krater attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter. Moscow, The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts II 1 6 732. Photo: museum. 224

15.3 Detail of 15.2, showing label for Methyse. Photo: museum. 225

15.4 Galene, Herakles, and the lion on a stamnos attributed to the Harrow Painter. Antikensammlung, Munich, Antikensammlung V.I. 239. Photo: author. 225

15.5 Delos, Euboia, and Lemnos dancing with their mother, Tethys, musical maenads, and satyrs, on the exterior of a cup attributed to the Eretria Painter, Warsaw National Museum 142458. Photo: museum. 226

15.6 Paidia with Chorillos on the tondo of a cup attributed to the Jena Painter, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum H 4663. Photo: author, copyright Martin von Wagner Museum, Universität Würzburg. 226

15.7 Kraipale on a chous (name vase) of the Kraipale Painter. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 00.352. Photo: museum. 227

15.8 Eirene with Hedyoinos, Dionysos, Opora, and others, on side A of a calyx krater attributed to the Dinos Painter. Vienna IV 1024. Photo: author. 227

15.9 Dionysos and Eirene, among others, on a pelike (once Paris) attributed to the Group of Naples 3235. Drawing: author, after Shapiro 1993, fig. 9. 228

15.10 Eirene and others in a Dionysiac (?) procession. Limestone altar. Brauron Museum 1177. Photo: author. 228

15.11 Meidian skyphos showing Opora. Basel, Collection of H.A. Cahn, 541. Courtesy David A. Cahn. Photo: author. 229

15.12 Roman copy of Kephisodotos' Eirene (original c. 370s). Munich, Glyptothek 219 (formerly Villa Albani, Rome). Photo: author. 230

16.1 Mosaic of Soteria, Baths of Apolausis, Antioch. Photo: reproduced by permission of the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University. 242

16.2 Mosaic of Apolausis, Baths of Apolausis, Antioch. Photo: reproduced by permission of the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University. 242

16.3 Megalopsychia Mosaic, from the Yakto Complex, Upper Level, Antioch. Photo: reproduced by permission of the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University. 243

16.4 Mosaic of Aion and the Chronoi, from Antioch. Photo: reproduced by permission of the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University. 243

16.5 Mosaic of Euteknia, Philosophia and Dikaiosyne, Shahba-Philoppolis, Syria. Photo: J. Balty. 244

16.6 Triclinium Mosaic, House of Aion, Nea Paphos, Cyprus. Photo: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus. 244

16.7 Mosaic of Ktisis, House of Ge and the Seasons, Antioch. Photo: reproduced by permission of the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University. 245

16.8 Mosaic of Ananeosis, Antioch. Photo: reproduced by permission of the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University. 245

16.9 Plan of Room F in the Late Roman Villa, Halicarnassos, showing location of inscriptions (after Isager and Poulsen 1997, fig. 10). 246

16.10 Mosaic of Ktisis, House of Ktisis, Antioch. Photo: reproduced by permission of the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University. 246

17.1 House of Cilicia, Room 1, looking southwest. Photo: reproduced by permission of the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University. 261

17.2 a–d River gods from the House of Porticoes. Photo: reproduced by permission of the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University. 262

17.3 Ladon and Psalis from the House of Menander at Daphne. Photo: reproduced by permission of the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University. 263

17.4 Eurotas and Lakedemonia from Bath E. Photo: reproduced by permission of the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University. 263

17.5 Detail from the topographical border of the 'Megalopsychia' pavement, showing springs. Photo: reproduced by permission of the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University. 264

20.1 The empress Theodora. Mosaic panel, church of San Vitale, Ravenna, sixth century AD. Photo: author. 305

20.2 Wing of the diptych of the consul Anastasios, AD 517. Victoria and Albert Museum. Photo: V&A Picture Library. 306

20.3 Earth? Tapestry weave, sixth century AD. Textile Museum, Washington DC, 72.121. Photo: museum. 307

21.1 December, January and February from the Melbourne Gospels. National Gallery of Victoria, MS. Felton 710/5, f. 3v. Photo: museum. 322

21.2 Prudence, Courage and Thoughtfulness from the Melbourne Gospels. National Gallery of Victoria, MS. Felton 710/5, f. 4r. Photo: museum 322

Introduction

Personification occurs in an enormous range of contexts in Greek literature, art and cult, reflecting the ubiquity of the phenomenon as a pattern of thought in the ancient Greek world. A variety of different types of personification is discussed in this volume, but all would be covered by one broad definition. Personification is the anthropomorphic representation of any non-human thing. Natural phenomena (earth, sky, rivers), places (cities, countries), divisions of time (seasons, months, a lifetime), states of the body (health, sleep, death), emotions (love, envy, fear), and political concepts (victory, democracy, war) all appear in human, often female, form. Some have only fleeting incarnations, others become widely recognised figures, and others again seem to have become so firmly established as deities in the imagination of the community that they receive the kind of cult associated with the Olympian gods. Though often thought of as a feature of the Hellenistic period, personifications can be found in literature, art and cult from the archaic period onwards.

The twenty-one papers presented here cover personification in Greek literature, art and religion from its pre-Homeric origins to the medieval period of Byzantium. Classical Athens, as usual, features prominently, but other areas of both mainland Greece and the Greek East are well represented. Issues which come under discussion throughout include: problems of identification and definition; the question of gender; the status of personifications in relation to the gods; the significance of personification as a literary device; the uses and meanings of personification in different visual media; the role of personification in both compositional allegory and allegorical interpretation, and personification as a means of articulating place, time and worldly power.

In Part I six essays consider some early examples of Greek personification and ways in which it worked. Burkert demonstrates that Greek personification is far from being a late development, as it is present in the earliest literature and religious thought; nor is it an isolated phenomenon, since many parallels can be found in Near Eastern and Egyptian literature

From *Personification In The Greek World: From Antiquity To Byzantium*, eds. Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Copyright © 2005 by Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Published by Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, UK.

and cosmogonic speculation.[1] Yamagata explores a particular instance of Homeric personification, the *Iliad*'s famous story of Ate (Disaster) and the Litai (Prayers), which is probably the earliest example of allegory in western literature, arguing that Achilles should be identified with the destructive power of Ate. Parisinou surveys the appearance of various kinds of celestial light in Greek literature and art, tracing a development from abstract representation to the personified form, the latter usually retaining some element indicative of brightness. She also identifies a number of other personifications, such as Eros, which are associated with light in some way. Burton's survey of the representation of Death in ancient art and literature demonstrates the variety of ways in which a single concept could be personified; she focuses in particular on the related questions of the gender of the various figures and the degree of agency they exercise. The issue of gender again arises in Stratiki's discussion of certain Greek heroes who, while not personifications proper, played a very similar role in the way they gave human form to ideas about the community's past. In the same way, visual and literary representations of certain philosophers acted as 'personifications' of virtues in late antiquity. This is just one of various ways in which personification can be seen operating amongst the Neo-Platonists, as surveyed by Siorvanes.

Part II consists of four essays discussing individual cases of personification in Greek myth and cult. Lazongas' subject is the unusual case of the personification of a fruit, the pomegranate, which has particular significance in Greek cult. He demonstrates that the human incarnation of Side retains many of the fruit's properties, especially its association with fertility. Richer looks at the case of Phobos (Fear), one of a number of *pathemata* (states of the body) apparently worshipped at Sparta, ingeniously linking the fortunes of Phobos' cult to that of Pan, the god who famously assisted the Athenians at the battle of Marathon. Allan explores the association of Kairos (Opportunity) with Hermes, and places Kairos' emergence as a figure of cult in the mid-fifth century in the context of ancient ideas about military and athletic success. Kovaleva examines the cult of Eros at Athens, celebrated in connection with the Panathenaia, arguing that the deity concerned was not so much the personification of Love but the cosmogonic principle of energy known to Hesiod.

The three essays of Part III examine ways in which personification is used to express the relationship between the poet and his work. Murray raises issues of definition in her discussion of the Muses, who are fully personalised goddesses but are sometimes presented rather like

[1] A German version of Burkert's article appears in his *Kleine Schiften II: Orientalia*, ed. M. Laura Gemelli Marciano, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht 2003, 171–91.

personifications, as embodiments of particular art-forms, or of a more general artistic creativity. Language used of the Muses, especially by Pindar, provides the origins of the trope explored by Sommerstein, whereby the art-form (comedy, poetry, music) is represented as the poet's wife or mistress, an idea exploited to great effect in Old Comedy. An alternative articulation of the relationship gives the poet a parental role, as can be seen especially in the case of Homer and his 'daughters' the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Seaman looks at expressions of this idea, which she traces back to Plato, in Hellenistic and Roman art and considers the significance of the personified poems' female gender.

Personification in various visual media is the subject of the four essays of Part IV. Borg tackles the problematic female figures in late fifth-century Attic vase-painting by the Meidias Painter and his circle, arguing that traditional interpretations, which either dismiss such figures as superficial decoration or seek meaning for them as reflecting developments in cult, do not do justice to the sophisticated level of allegory involved. Smith identifies a subclass of personifications in Classical Attic vase-painting, figures represented as maenads (with maenadic attributes and/or in the company of Dionysos/satyrs) but given personifying names, which often have some relation to the Dionysiac context, but may also bear more specific political meanings. The Attic vase-painters' practice of applying name-labels is fundamental to both these studies, and labelling is again a notable feature of late antique mosaic in the Greek east, as discussed by Leader-Newby. She looks at more ephemeral contemporary media which might have influenced the practice, and links the mosaic images of personified abstract ideas to a prevailing concern amongst the elite to display their *paideia*. Another kind of personification regularly found in mosaic is topographical, such as the representations of the rivers of Roman Antioch explored by Huskinson, which, as she demonstrates, again play an important part in the community's cultural self-representation.

Leading on from river-personifications, in Part V four essays discuss various uses of personification to represent place, time and temporal power. Yatromanolakis examines a metaphor which can be found in literature from Homer to Aristides, in which the personified city or country is presented as the speaker's beloved. For Gencheva-Mikami the visual representation of dioceses personified as women bearing tribute, found in the impersonal context of administrative records, requires explanation. She argues that the *Notitia dignitatum* form a documentary panegyric, bringing theatrical expression to the register of dignitaries. Turning to representations of Byzantine empresses, James stresses that the costume derives from the familiar personifications of Earth, Good Fortune and city Tyches. Empresses were gradually endowed with the attributes of powerful female figures, who embodied good fortune. Jeffreys demonstrates that the traditional

personifications of the months also served a new purpose in twelfth-century Byzantine literature. In one text, each month speaks in the first person of his character, in another painted representations of Virtues (personified as females), Eros, and the months (male) are described and analysed. While the genre of such descriptions of the months is unusual, personifications remain a persistent feature of Byzantine culture and survive to the fall of the empire.

The volume is based on a conference held in London in September 2000, which in turn was inspired by the editors' previous work, on personification in Archaic and Classical Greek cult (Stafford 2000) and on the significance of personified cities in the representation of women (Herrin 2000). Under the aegis of the Centre for Hellenic Studies, King's College London, the conference brought together both established and younger scholars from all over Europe, North America and New Zealand with a wide variety of specialities, demonstrating the significance of personification to many branches of the study of ancient and Byzantine Greece. It has not been possible to include all elements of the conference here, but we would like to acknowledge the contributions of Judith Fletcher, Vasiliki Giannopoulou, Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, Bianca McClintock, Jenifer Neils, Scott Scullion, Robert Shorrock and Jacob Stern, the active part played by those who chaired the sessions (Gudrun Bühl, Nick Fisher, Rebecca Flemming, Ismene Lada-Richards, Nick Lowe, Robin Osborne, Robert Parker, Geoffrey Waywell), and Russell Shone and Chloë Productions' entertaining demonstration of the practical issues faced by the tragic and comic poets who put personifications on the stage. Financial support was kindly provided by the British Academy, the Classical Association, the Foundation for Hellenic Culture, the Hellenic Foundation London, the Joint Association of Classical Teachers, the A.G. Leventis Foundation, the London Hellenic Society and the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. We are grateful also to the Institute of Classical Studies for the last-minute provision of a venue, and to the Humanities Research Centres, King's College London, and the School of Classics, University of Leeds, for administrative support.

PART I

ORIGINS AND VARYING MODES OF PERSONIFICATION

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

1

Hesiod in context: abstractions and divinities in an Aegean-Eastern koiné

Walter Burkert

Personification is a meeting of linguistics, morality and religion in the house of rhetoric. Such a statement is, of course, highly rhetorical in itself. *Personificatio* is a post-medieval translation of the Greek προσωποποιία, which forms a chapter in the schoolbooks of rhetoric.[1] It used to enjoy high esteem and produced characteristic texts, from the *Pinax* of Kebes and the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius down to *The Pilgrim's Progress* of John Bunyan (1678), and baroque iconography. In consequence it has suffered from the general debunking of rhetoric. In the age of romanticism, at the threshold of the modern world, rhetoric appeared 'cold', simplistic and superfluous. In recent decades, though, it has been recovering as it gradually becomes part of the advertising industry and the selling business.

In Classical studies it has always been clear that personification could not be disregarded, and that it was not secondary or 'late' by any standards. Personification is right there with Homer and Hesiod, it constitutes an integral part of poetic craft in Pindar, it dominates the pronouncements of wisdom, and it is hardly less productive in later poetic and philosophical texts; it expands into public manifestations of iconography and cult. It demands respect on any count.

Personification is a complex phenomenon which unfolds at several levels, linguistic and poetic, speculative and religious; it is the interaction or confusion of these aspects that makes it fascinating. On the linguistic side, personification has to do with abstracts, and this may hurt romantic feelings about religion; so there has been a tendency to search for deeper roots. Hermann Usener, in his book *Götternamen*, posed the question whether language originally had any abstracts: should we not think of gods or demons

[1] Discussed in Stafford 2000, 3–9.

From *Personification In The Greek World: From Antiquity To Byzantium*, eds Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Copyright © 2005 by Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Published by Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, UK.

instead, powers experienced in some primitive 'mentality'? [2] The idea of demons prior to abstracts has been taken up now and again.[3] Yet while the constructs of primitive mentality have lost favour in more modern anthropology, linguistics leaves no doubt that there are abstracts not only in Indoeuropean, but also in Semitic, and in Egyptian, with explicit linguistic forms to characterize them. For Indoeuropean, think of the formations on *-tus* and *-tas*, -τυς and -της in Greek – φιλότης, *sanitas* – and the forms in -ία, such as φιλία, ὁμόνοια, *concordia*. In Semitic there are other equally well-established suffixes or prefixes for abstracts; even the preponderance of female forms for abstracts is characteristic in both language groups, Semitic and Indoeuropean. To search beyond abstracts means to go beyond attested and reconstructable linguistics. The emergence of human language lies far back in the mists of prehistory, and the creation of gods, too, antedates Homer and Hesiod by several thousand years. Usener's question about how a personal god originated had already been firmly answered by the Egyptians and Sumerians. Thus the questions surrounding personification will be less about the origins of either abstracts or gods than about forms and functions of a widely accepted usage.

Max Müller spoke of mythology as a 'language disease'. It is possible to approach personification from such an angle: language has substantives of various categories, and verbs which are normally based on human activities: to give, to get, to go, to come, to run, to hit, to have sex, to give birth. 'Personification' occurs if abstracts meet with anthropomorphic verbs: fear has stricken me, or sorrow eats my heart, while time is running by. As abstracts come alive, a fantasy world of roaming significations comes into being which makes its impact on mentalities, and on religion in particular. Personifications of natural forces are parallel and often overlapping, as is the introduction of plants and animals into tales commonly called 'fables'. But we shall keep to personifications of abstracts here. Note that the abstract meaning does not disappear in these cases (whereas etymological meaning does disappear in a personal name); it stays there. Thus language keeps pursuing a delicate path between normal reality and linguistic fantasy, and risks plunging into either the abstruse or the ridiculous. There are restrictions of compatibility in natural language, which are sometimes debatable: 'the foot of time', a metaphor of Euripides, seemed ridiculous rather than sublime to Aristophanes;[4] 'the tooth of time', 'der Zahn der Zeit' is common in English and German, though absent from Greek, it would

[2] Usener 1948, 364–75: 'Abstrakte Gottesbegriffe'; 371: 'Ob die sprache überhaupt ursprüngliche abstrakta besitzt'.

[3] See Kretschmer 1924.

[4] Euripides fr. 42, *Bacchae* 889; cf. Aristophanes, *Frogs* 100, 311.

seem.[5] The secret of personification is that a clash of semantics should produce new sense, not nonsense.

There has been quite a tradition of reflections on and profound studies of personification from Jacob Grimm and Hermann Usener onwards. Pride of place still goes to Ludwig Deubner's magisterial article in *Roschers Mythologisches Lexikon* of 1903.[6] Theoretical discussions are not to be pursued here. Instead this study aims to demonstrate something less well known, namely that Hesiod, in his use of personifications, is neither isolated nor an absolute beginning, but rather part of a Near Eastern-Aegean *koiné*. Parallels are clearly attested in adjacent cultures of the ancient world. Personification thus proves to be older than expected, and more common, common even to quite different languages in comparable forms.

I shall adduce, first, some parallels in what I call the rhetoric of wisdom, and some examples of more elaborate imagery; there will be a brief look at the interplay of symbolism and iconography in allegorical representation, and finally the religious history of personifications will be explored to some extent.

The rhetoric of wisdom

To begin with Mesopotamia: in Sumerian, Akkadian and Hittite, the Sun God, Shamash, is a great god, celebrated in various hymns and rituals; his constant companions are Kittu and Misharu, which mean 'Order' and 'Right'. The evidence covers more than a millennium.[7] Both *kittu* and *misharu* are common Akkadian words, clearly understandable, derived from roots in common use meaning 'to stabilize' and 'to set in order' respectively; both are marked as abstracts by common, if different, suffixes and prefixes. Misharu is the 'beloved messenger' or 'satellite' of Shamash,[8] even Ishtar 'loves Misharu',[9] and Kittu is also called 'the daughter of the Sun God'.[10] It can also be said that Kittu is the Sun God's satellite to the right, and Misharu is his satellite to the left.[11] Satellites characterize a ruler, as he processes or drives his chariot with the appropriate retinue. That the Sun God, who sees

[5] But *tempus edax rerum* Ov. *Met.* 15.234; 'tooth of time' Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure* V 1.

[6] See Grimm 1876, 733–48; Usener 1948, 364–75; Deubner 1903; Nilsson 1967, 812–15: 'Abstrakte Gottheiten'; note also Pötscher's 'Person-Bereich-Denken' (Pötscher 1959, 1972).

[7] Van Buren 1941, 90 f.; cf. Tallqvist 1938, 342 and 374; AHw 494 f. and 659 f.; B.C. Dietrich (*Acta Classica* 8, 1965, 17 and 22) was the first to refer to Kittu and Misharu in the context of Hesiod, but without indicating the sources. See also Güterbock 1946, 114 f.

[8] Castellino 1977, 712 f.: 'Mesharu your dear messenger may prepare everything' (for your rest); Schollmeyer 1912, 59 f.; for Hittite, see Lebrun 1980, 123; 128 f. (CTH 793): *bunenu* and *misharu* as 'satellites', after 'les terreurs' have been named.

[9] R.E. Brünnow, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 5 (1890) 67; 69 line 10.

[10] AHw 495 a.

[11] KUB IV 11,3: list of *sukalle*; Langdon 1927, 51 ff.

everything and brings light to everything, is linked to Right and Order, and Right and Order thus have their supreme guardian, this is the continuing message; of course this can be expressed in other forms of discourse too.[12]

As a first parallel, an Old Testament Psalm may be quoted, addressing Jahweh:[13] 'Justice (*ṣädäq*) and Right (*mishpat*) are the props of your throne, Grace (*chäsäd*) and Faithfulness (*ämät*) go before your face.' Here Justice has Grace as its complement, and the image of the throne is added to the image of the procession; the common rhetoric is unmistakeable, even if 'objectification' is added to personification.

Now take the solemn proclamation in Plato's *Laws* (715e): 'God, comprising beginning, end and middle of everything, according to an ancient *logos*, is proceeding on his straight way, pursuing a natural circle; Justice (Dike) follows him, meting out punishment to those who fall behind the divine Law.' Plato's God assumes the characteristics of a celestial body, following a 'natural circle' – we know the image from Plato's *Phaedrus*, where the gods move across the cupola of heaven. The Cretan city to be construed in the *Laws* is to worship Apollo-Helios as their central god. And Dike is seen moving in the retinue of the heavenly god. I am not arguing for influence. At least there is Orpheus in between: we know that the 'ancient *logos*' referred to by Plato is the theogony of Orpheus; the Derveni papyrus has restored just the relevant verse about beginning, middle and end.[14] Instead of 'God' Orpheus has 'Zeus'; the Orphic verse about Dike is extant, too, from another quotation: 'Upon him Dike, much-punishing, was following, asserting right for all' (τῶι δε Δίκη πολύποινος ἐφέσπετο πᾶσιν ἀρωγός).[15] Note that we get the past tense, as befits a theogony of the Derveni type. The verse is echoed in the proem of Parmenides (B 1.14), as he describes the Gate of Day and Night: 'of these, Dike, much-punishing, holds the alternate bolts' (τῶν δε Δίκη πολύποινος ἔχει κληῖδας ἀμοιβούς) – opening and shutting the gate in the 'just' rhythm of day. Justice personified, in Parmenides as in Orpheus and in Plato, appears within a cosmic scenery. I am not arguing for direct dependence of 'Orpheus' on Akkadian literature either, nor would I totally exclude it. The common background is the 'going forth' of the heavenly ruler with his retinue, and the key role of Justice in the process.

[12] See the 'Great Shamash hymn', BWL 121–38, SAHG 240–47. A trilingual hymn to the Sun God in E. Laroche, *Revue d'Assyriologie* 58 (1964) 69–78.

[13] Psalm 89:15; cf. 97:2.

[14] *Pap. Derv.* col. 17.12 (new numeration), cf. Laks and Most 1997, and Janko 2002. Plato's source is indicated by Schol. *ad loc.* = Orph. fr. 21.

[15] Orph. fr. 158 (not indicated in Orph. fr. 21). There may be doubt whether this is exactly the verse Plato has in mind, or some later construct.

Another hymn to the Sun God in Hittite brings out the less serene side of the god; 'At your right side Anxieties are running, and Terrors at your left.'[16] We are back with the satellites on either side of the ruler, going forth in procession or riding his chariot. But Justice changes places with Terror. The ancients were wont to see collaboration rather than any conflict between justice and violent force. Another Hittite text has both Terrors and Misharu among the satellites of the Sun God.[17] But terrors may well be active within their special sphere: in Homer, Ares the god of war has his chariot, and as he goes to fight, Phobos and Deimos, 'Terror' and 'Anxiety', are harnessing the chariot, together with Eris, 'Strife'.[18] In another verse (*Iliad* 13.299 f.), as Ares is introduced, 'On him Terror, his beloved son, powerful and fearless, was following' (τῶι δε Φόβος φίλος υἱὸς ἅμα κρατερὸς καὶ ἀταρβὴς ἕσπετο). The god goes forth with his satellite; the wording is similar to the Orphic verse about Dike. We are inclined to think of Homer's verse as the older one. Be that as it may, 'abstracts' make good satellites for gods.

Another field of imagery is introduced in speculative cosmogony. As reflection tries to grasp the universe, certain aspects or powers are named or rather created by language to make up the 'world', earth and heaven and all the living beings, and to keep it in order. We have 'order' again, and a start from the counter-image, non-order, not-yet-order. Most sophisticated among Egyptian cosmogonies is the cosmogony of Hermopolis, which is not extant as a whole text, but survives in many references and quotations. The system of Hermopolis introduces an Ogdoad to account for the creation of the world; this means naming eight abstracts that come in pairs: Nun and Naunet, 'moisture'; Heh and Hehet, 'Infinity'; Kek and Keket, 'Darkness'; Amun and Amaunet, 'Hidden-ness'.[19] Nun, primordial water, is at the beginning in other cosmogonies, too, and Amun, 'the hidden one', is the usual name of the supreme god of Thebes. But Hermopolis has made up its special universe of meanings, a great Not-Yet in contrast to our own manifest universe. This means accumulating negative concepts and supplementing them with secondary feminine forms. Such abstraction immediately leads to myth, with a situation of 'mating' and 'begetting'; the Egyptians were not prudish about this. Linguistic constructs and mythological fantasies make up a happy union.

Compare Hesiod at the beginning of his cosmogony (*Theogony* 123 ff.). He starts with Chaos, the one great Gap, linguistically neuter, but after this he introduces couples as soon as possible: from Chaos, Darkness sprang in a

[16] Ishtanu-Hymn 59–61, Lebrun 1980, 96; 103 (CTH 372); TUAT II 797; Friedrich 1954/5, 148; J. Puhvel, *Analecta Indoeuropaea*, Innsbruck 1981, 379–81; West 1997, 359.

[17] Lebrun 1980, 123 and 128 f. (CTH 374).

[18] *Il.* 4.439–45; just Deimos and Phobos at 15.119 f.

[19] Eliade et al. 1964, 72 f.

double aspect of gender, Erebos, masculine, and Night, feminine; Hesiod chooses a noun which is not very common, and he has to change its grammatical gender: normally τὸ ἔρεβος would be neuter – but Hesiod has to make male meet with female. Night, happily, is a female of Indoeuropean stock. As a next generation, the mating of Darkness and Night will produce the light of day, again in double gender: Aither, 'Brightness of Day', masculine, and Hemere 'Day', feminine. Thus 'personification' turns grammatical gender into sex and gets cosmogony started.

Let us also take a look at another Near Eastern text which, if not cosmogonical, is at least cosmic in scope. It has the personification of cosmic powers *in statu nascendi*, as it were. It is the beginning of an Akkadian magical charm which invokes the gods of night: 'I have called the gods of Night. I have called Night, the veiled bride; I have called Dusk, Midnight, and Dawn.'[20] Prayer is addressed to gods who should 'hear', react and help. In this case the priest or sorcerer is intending not to reach one personal god but to grasp and to dominate the whole situation, the realm of night where his charm will work. This gives 'Night' herself anthropomorphic status, darkness turns into a 'veil', and desires of night are vaguely stimulated: 'Night, the veiled bride'. The three aspects or 'hours' of night, Dusk, Midnight and Dawn, turn into living beings too, which can be 'called' as if they can hear. Note that it is only common, understandable words of Akkadian that are used in the ceremony. Here personification is a means of magic; it remains none the less rhetorical.

Some personifications may appear just as momentary flashes of metaphor, 'Augenblicksgötter' as it were, to Hermann Usener's term. Yet there is the possibility of further elaboration into playful scenes, nay into whole stories, including attempts at myth. My examples for this are confined to Greek and Hebrew; this could be due to the accidents of transmission. The Hebrew Bible is fraught with insoluble problems of dating. A growing group of Old Testament scholars, as far as I can see, is prepared to date sizeable parts down to Achaemenid and post-Achaemenid times, i.e. the Hellenistic epoch, and to reckon with direct influences of Greek literature – which, in contrast to the Hebrew texts, is comparatively well dated. I cannot decide this. But I find it worthwhile to remember that even in this aspect Greek is not isolated in the Eastern Mediterranean world.

Returning to Justice, Dike, we find the impressive and well-known scene in Hesiod, the 'noise of Dike being dragged along' by greedy men, weeping bitterly (*Works and Days* 220–22); later on we hear that Dike is hidden in the mist, and that she brings evil to those who do not mete out justice in the right way. The first image, the female outraged in the streets, has been replaced by another one, a fairy in the mist, and a third one, an avenging

[20] *Maqlû* 1,1 ff.; West 1997, 270.

demon. Of course the primary and abstract signification, 'Justice', has never been forgotten and may get a new accent at any moment. A little later Dike has become a maiden, daughter of Zeus, who will sit down with her father to complain and to tell him about the unjust minds of people; and Zeus is going to punish these (256–60). The charm of a family scene results in quite unsentimental threats of Justice.

In the *Iliad* (9.502–12), there is the famous 'allegory of the Litai' (on which see further Yamagata, *infra* pp. 21–8). The 'prayers of repentance' are introduced by Phoinix to influence the relentless Achilles. These Litai all of a sudden have become daughters of Zeus, too; they are lame, unseemly and squinting, they slowly walk behind swift Mischief (Ate), trying to make good what this demon has ruined. If they are not respected, they will go to inform father Zeus. This has often been judged a piece of 'Hesiodic' style in the *Iliad*, but it comes at one of the key points of the great poem.[21]

In a more dramatic scene later in the *Iliad* (19.91–131), Ate, Mischief wrought, appears in the speech of Agamemnon when he has to confess his fault in his dealings with Achilles: Agamemnon embarks on a long tale about Ate who once even caught Zeus. Hence Ate was hurled down from Olympus by Zeus to stay all the more with men. Ate has a 'head' and even a hairstyle (λιπαροπλόκαμος, 'with glossy locks') here (126), to be properly grabbed by the angry god. In the background we may see other myths, older traditional stories, about partners thrown out of the company of the gods, Hephaestus for example; it happened even to Satan, according to an apocryphal tradition.[22] The message is clear, and Agamemnon's tactics in having recourse to a 'fable' to forestall or mitigate conflict is old and common too.[23] In such a context personification will serve well.

We find Justice personified in Hebrew, too; remember the preponderance of female forms for abstracts in both Semitic and Greek. 'Grace (*chäsäd*) and Faithfulness (*ämät*) meet each other, Justice (*ṣädäq*) and Peace (*shalom*) have kissed', a famous passage in Psalm 85 records,[24] a meeting which develops into an intimate corporeal encounter. More can be said about wisdom (*hakmah*) in the *Proverbs* attributed to Solomon: Wisdom 'raises her voice in public places', in the streets, at the gates, addressing the 'fools' and summoning them to 'knowledge' and, of course, to the 'fear of the Lord'.[25] Wisdom, speaking in the first person, even claims prominence in a cosmic setting: 'The Lord created me at the beginning of his works ... When he set the heavens in their place, I was there ... I was at his (Jahweh's) side each

[21] See Noé 1940.

[22] Genesis 6:1–4; Luke 10:18; 22:31; Revelation 12:10. Akkadian texts concerning the demoness Lamashtu sent from Heaven to Earth are unclear, *RLAss* VI 445.

[23] See Meuli 1975, 731–56: 'Herkunft und Wesen der Fabel'.

[24] Psalm 85.11.

[25] Proverbs 1:20–33.

day, his darling and delight, playing in his presence continually'[26] – here Wisdom has become a lovely girl, 'playing', dancing and singing to her father's delight. The scene becomes more serious, and lively, in chapter nine of the *Proverbs*: 'Wisdom has built her house... she has spread her table, she has sent out her maidens to proclaim from the highest part of the town: "Come in, you simpletons. Come, dine with me"' (9:1–5). And in contrast: 'The Lady Stupidity ... sits at the door of her house, on a seat in the highest part of the town, to invite the passers-by indoors ... "Come in, you simpletons", she says ... "stolen water is sweet" ... ' (9:13–17). Everyone will realize how close this is to the famous allegory of Herakles at the crossroads, between Arete (Virtue) and Kakia (Vice). This is a work of the sophist Prodikos which survives in Xenophon's account.[27] Direct influence in either direction is difficult to prove. Parallel self-organization, on the basis of antithesis in moral injunction and of female personification, is not excluded. Let us be content to notice the closeness of two adjacent Mediterranean societies, in spite of the difference of the social context – theocracy versus democracy – and the linguistic gap which keeps them apart.

Symbolism and iconography

Imagery seems to imply images. But there is a long step from rhetorical metaphors to actual art, be it pictorial or sculptural, especially as this sector of culture has its own conventions and lines of development. Making pictures of abstracts means a very special bridge between representative art and linguistic clarification. The Greeks were uniquely prolific in this field, at least since the middle archaic epoch. It is only the Greeks, too, who developed dramatic theatre, which meant a further option of producing images via masks. Greek abstractions occur as paintings, as statues, and on the stage.[28]

Take a counter-example from the Iranian side: there is a remarkable Avestan text about the fate of the soul after death, called *Hadoxt Nask*. This is what the soul of the pious will experience after death: 'His own Religion (Daena) appears in the form of a girl, beautiful, radiant, white-armed, strong ... and tall, with high breasts ... fifteen years of age, as she looks, as beautiful of form as the most beautiful of beings created.'[29] This female will speak to the soul of the deceased, console him and guide him to paradise. You see

[26] Proverbs 8:22–30; Keel 1974; Mann 1982, 41–50; for the family situation see Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 243–47.

[27] Xen., *Memorabilia* 2.1.21–34 = Diels-Kranz 84 B 2. Discussed in Stafford 2005.

[28] Dike in Aeschylus fr. 218a, Lyssa in fr. 169; Erinyes called 'Arai', *Eumenides* 417; Thanatos in Euripides, *Alkestis* 24ff., Lyssa in *Madness of Herakles* 422ff.; on Aristophanes, see Newiger 1957; see also New Comedy prologues. Pollux 4.141–2 provides more examples: see Stafford 2000, 12–13.

[29] See Piras 2000, § 9–11; cf. the Pahlavi text in Menok i Khrat (Zaehner 1956, 134 f.).

how the description of this girl goes into details, breasts and all; happily *daena*, 'religion', is feminine in Avestan. But as far as I know there has been no attempt ever to paint this; the anthropomorphic abstract remains imagination, and text. Still, language and pictures are not totally separate. There are antecedents to their meeting or mixture even within the older cultural *koiné*, abstractions on the verge of becoming representations, of entering a visual canon. This means symbolism – I shall not try to define 'symbol' here; it may be agreed that it has to do with special bridges between things and meanings, as something is made to stand for something else.

Let us start once more from the sphere of power, with sovereigns, satellites, and their emblems. Sovereignty must manifest itself in a visible, nay palpable way to make the ruler 'high', 'great' and strong: ancient means of demonstrating this are staff or sceptre, throne and crown.[30] Loss of sovereignty means to lose the sceptre, the throne, the crown. The abstract concept of power is bound to its insignia. The prologue to the law code of Hammurapi reports the activity of the gods Anu and Enlil, who 'determined Enlil-ness for Marduk'. 'Enlil-ness' is an abstract made out of the god's common name. Marduk, in turn, 'commissioned me to guide the people', Hammurapi says; the relief of the stele on which this is inscribed has Shamash the Sun God handing ring and staff to the king.[31] Shall we say that this is the 'sceptre of kingship', or how else does 'kingship' appear in the picture?

In a Hebrew psalm quoted already, Jahweh is praised by the proclamation: 'Right and Justice are the foundation (*mekom* 'place') of his throne.'[32] Real thrones have their special iconography. One idea was to have the throne held up by men. The throne of Sennacherib at Nineveh is represented in this way: the king's men are the props of his throne. The image is made more impressive at Persepolis where we see the king's throne lifted up by all his peoples.[33] More sublime are abstracts, as used in the Hebrew text: not crowds of subjects, but 'rightousness and justice' as the throne's foundation. Representing this visually would be a problem. Or

[30] Akkadian *hattu*, *agu*, *kussu*; 'sceptre of power', *hattu sharruti* (AHw 337b): 'to take away sceptre and crown' (AHw 337).

[31] ANET 164; ANEP 246 and 515. A special emblem of rulership appears in later Assyrian iconography, a solar disk with wings, with a bearded image inside, variously interpreted as a god, a tutelary divinity or the king himself; it is taken over by the Achaemenid rulers, so that Ahura Mazda becomes a further possible name. Avestan tradition has a special designation of 'the king's splendour', *xvarena*, which may migrate from one ruler to another; is the winged disk *xvarena*?

[32] Psalm 97:2 (above note 13), cf. Brown 2000, 42–7; 'Heaven is my throne and earth my footstool', Isaiah 66:1.

[33] Niniveh, Sanherib: ANEP 371. Persepolis: Koch in Frei and Koch 1996, 159–97.

could one just give the name 'Righteousness' and 'Justice' to the sphinxes or carnivores who are usually represented as guarding a throne? Clearer and undisputed, as far as I can see, is the Egyptian symbol for 'Life', *Ankh*: gods are commonly holding 'life' in their hands, and they promise to present it to their favourites.

Another case of incipient iconography seems to occur in a Hittite text. It is the ending of the Telepinu-text, a myth and ritual concerning a god of fertility who disappears and is retrieved.[34] When everything has been restored, purified and brought to order, 'before Telipinu there stands an eyan-tree. From the eyan is suspended a hunting bag ... In it lies Sheep Fat. In it lies ... Animal Fecundity and Wine. In it lie Cattle and Sheep. In it lie Longevity and Progeny.' The tree with the bag, and fat therein, seems to be quite realistic ritual, somewhat reminiscent of the Maypole in a European village, which used to be adorned with various figures, 'symbols' of fertility too. Telepinu has come back, he is here, and there is the traditional object to mark his presence and his blessings. Yet 'cattle and sheep' will not go into a real bag, and 'Fecundity' is an abstract, as are the 'Longevity' and 'Progeny' which make the resounding finale. How are they 'lying' in a bag? We are left to speculate what was really done, to figure out 'symbols' of Fecundity, Longevity and Progeny, together with 'symbols' of cattle and sheep. Should they be figurines, drawings, or even written signs? No doubt we must presume that 'abstracts' had been transposed from the spoken word to recognizable representation.

Compare a well-known passage of Homer, concerning Aphrodite's girdle, the *kestos*, lent by Aphrodite to Hera in order to beguile Zeus (*Iliad* 14.214 f.): 'In it there are Love, and Longing, and Fond Discourse, nay Allurement' (... κεστὸν ἵμαντα ... / ἔνθ' ἔνι μὲν Φιλότης, ἐν δ' Ἵμερος, ἐν δ' Ὀαριστὺς / Πάρφασις ...). *Kestos* seems to mean 'embroidered': there is reference to visible representation; but how would you embroider Friendship, Love and Talk, in the epoch of Homer, or even of Troy? The poet did not feel obliged to answer this question. He is rather using a tradition of describing abstract powers as if they were visible, placeable things. Take Agamemnon's shield, in the eleventh book of the *Iliad* (37 f.): it not only has Gorgo – we know what Gorgo looks like from seventh-century art onwards – but also Deimos (Terror) and Phobos (Fear): how to represent these?[35] Athena's *aigis* has even more (*Iliad* 5.739 f.): Eris (Strife), Alke (Prowess), Ioke (Pursuit), and a Gorgon's head in addition, and Phobos is spread as a rim around it. Once more we visualize the Gorgon, but how should Phobos be spread around?

[34] Version 1, Hoffner and Beckman 1990, 17; ANET 128. Transcription: Friedrich 1967, 53–5; cf. Burkert 1979, 124.

[35] On Gorgo see *LIMC* IV (1988) *s.v.* Gorgo, Gorgones, and Burkert 1992, 82–7. On Phobos, see *LIMC* VII (1994) s.v. Phobos, and Richer *infra* pp. 81–92.

This is a magical power, of course – but also a strategy of the poetic text with slight regard for the conventions of contemporary art.

Take yet another pair of texts from the Eastern and from the Greek side. In a Babylonian tablet, the gods, after creating man, go on to create the King as the very summit of creation; and all the gods bring their gifts: 'The great gods gave Battle to the king, Anu gave him his crown, Enlil his throne, Nergal gave him his weapons, Ninurta his Splendour, the Lady of the Gods gave him his Handsome Appearance.'[36] Visible objects with symbolic functions, crown, throne and weapons are transferred, but they are coupled with 'abstracts', Battle, Splendour, Handsome Appearance. The case of Pandora in Hesiod (*Works and Days* 72–81) is quite similar: the Charites (Graces) and Peitho (Persuasion), personifications themselves, adorn Pandora with golden bracelets (from abstract to object, as it were); the Horai (Seasons) bring a floral crown, and Hermes 'puts' into her breast 'lies and enticing speech and a deceitful character' (ψεύδεά θ' αἰμυλίους τε λόγους καὶ ἐπίκλοπον ἦθος) less visible but more powerful than the adornment. Thus all the gods gave her gifts; the difference of categories is glossed over by epic language.

It is still a special enterprise to fabricate anthropomorphic pictures. In Egypt this is done with Ma'at, 'Order', but there remains a complicated interplay of meanings and allusions.[37] In Babylonia, an often reproduced relief of the Babylonian king Nabuaplaiddin of the ninth century, reused by the Neobabylonian king Nabupolassar about 600 BC, shows the temple of the Sun God at Sippar, with the god sitting inside, and with a huge Sun-Wheel pulled by strings in front of him; the inscription to the left says: 'Image of Shamash the Great Lord, sitting in Ebabbar in the midst of Sippar'. There are two figures to be seen at the top, driving the machinery. These, in all probability, should be Kittu and Misharu, or Bunenu and Kittu.[38] This is a unique example of picturing abstracts.

In Greek there was a breakthrough from the late seventh century. Just a few suggestive examples: we are on firm ground with the chest of Kypselos as described by Pausanias (5.18.1 f.), dated to the beginning of the sixth century, with a plethora of abstracts and epigrammatic texts, Thanatos (Death), Hypnos (Sleep), Nyx (Night), Dike and Adikia (Injustice), Eris (Strife); Hebe (Youth) appears as the spouse of Heracles already on a seventh-century monument.[39] We get further examples in sixth-century vase painting, identified by writing, such as Eris (see book jacket) and Dike, and

[36] Mayer 1987.

[37] See Assmann 1990.

[38] Rawlinson 1880, pl. 60; King 1912, 120–27, pl. 98–102; Jastrow 1912, col. 65–7, fig. 94; Beek 1961, fig. 37.

[39] *LIMC s.v.* Herakles no. 3331; Laurens 1996, 240.

Nike.[40] There is interesting testimony from literature too: Epimenides the Cretan seer, according to his *Theogony* which may date from the sixth century, recorded his initiatory dream: he met, in the cave of Zeus, with 'Truth' and 'Justice', Aletheia and Dike.[41] Epimenides was evidently outdoing Hesiod. Hesiod's Muses have become abstracts, but evidently visible abstracts, visible in a dream. The Athena Parthenos of Pheidias held Nike as a solid statue in her hands. Actual cult statues of abstracts appear in the fourth century; epoch-making was the Eirene of Kephisodotos.[42] Later there was no check to the flood of those less-than-exciting females, draped or undraped, that fill pages and pages of the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae.* The relation of statue and name still remains problematic in some cases.

Personification and religion

That abstracts should be considered 'gods' appears both clear, even too clear, and secondary. The process was commented upon by the ancients, for example by Cicero: 'The thing itself in which there is some major power is nominated in a way that the thing itself is called "god", like Faith and Intellect' (*res ipsa, in qua vis inest maior aliqua, sic appellatur ut ea ipsa vis nominetur deus, ut Fides et Mens*).[43] This does not apply to abstracts alone. Things with power, *vis maior aliqua*, are also encountered in our real environment, Earth and Heaven, Sun and Moon, Winds and Rivers. These duly play their role in various pantheons.[44] They overlap with 'abstracts'. But there are no simple pedigrees or lines of evolution.

Martin Nilsson judged divinized abstracts to be a sign of decline in the old faith; 'the bastard descendant of "power" and the god' was his earlier and more rhetorical formulation.[45] It has been stressed that these abstracts often appear in the retinue of 'true' gods; hence they should be secondary to these. At least some of them first show up as epithets of 'true' gods, such as Athena Nike, to become independent 'Nike' later on.[46] This too assigns

[40] On Nike, see Isler-Kerényi 1969; in general see Shapiro 1993.

[41] Maximus of Tyre 10, p. 119 Hobein = Diels-Kranz 3 B 1. Epimenides B 2 evidently echoes Hesiod, *Theogony* 26. West (1983, 49) argues for a fifth-century date for Epimenides' poem.

[42] Nilsson 1967, 814; *LIMC* III (1986) *s.v.* Eirene no. 8. On Kephisodotos' statue and the cult of Eirene at Athens, see Stafford 2000, 173–97.

[43] Cicero, *De natura deorum* 2.61; cf. *Laws* 2.19 and 2.28; Pliny, *Natural History* 2.14.

[44] Especially in oath ceremonies; see Burkert 1998, 206–08.

[45] Nilsson 1967, 812: 'Ein Zeichen der Aushöhlung des alten Glaubens in gebildeten Kreisen'; Nilsson 1925, 172.

[46] In the Themistocles decree (Meiggs and Lewis 1969, no. 23, line 39), 'Athena and Nike' is probably an error for an original 'Athena Nike'; see Berve 1961, 5 and 18f.

priority to 'true' gods. Hence the Hesiodic genre can be interpreted as dependent upon the 'Homeric' background.[47]

Wilamowitz pertinently noted that *theos* ('god') can be used in Greek as a predicate.[48] A model example is the Hesiodic verse which some think was the finale of the original composition, the reference to Pheme, 'Saying', 'Rumor': 'she too is somehow a goddess' (θεός νύ τις ἔστι καὶ αὕτη, *Works and Days* 764). Nilsson notes this as the first deified abstract.[49] Yet playful and easy productivity of this kind is not the whole story;[50] some abstract divinities have deep roots in the history of religion. They are surprisingly old, and absolutely serious, as regards criteria such as prayers, votive gifts, temples, hymns, and also myths. There is remarkable evidence for this within the Near Eastern-Aegean *koiné*.

First, Egypt. Here we meet with Ma'at, something like 'Order'.[51] Ma'at is an abstract by word formation; but 'she' is not only a key word in hymns and wisdom texts, Ma'at definitely has the rank of a goddess. Normally she is called the daughter of Re the Sun God – although she can also appear as his Mother, when the Sun God is 'sitting in the lap of Ma'at'.[52] In the complicated manner of Egyptian theology, Ma'at can be identified with other goddesses such as Tefnut and Isis, identifications expressed also through iconography. Still, the linguistic sense of Ma'at is never forgotten. It remains obligatory 'to do Ma'at', 'to speak Ma'at'.[53]

A second example: the Akkadian Kittu and Misharu once again, attested across one thousand years. In a Babylonian ritual for the Sun God, Kittu and Misharu get their offerings as full partners of the group headed by Shamash.[54] At Ugarit, on the coast of Syria, 'Justice' and 'Order', *ṣdq* and *msr* appear in a list of gods;[55] we met *ṣädäq* as one of the props of Jahweh's throne in Hebrew (above, notes 13 and 32). Ṣädäq appears as a god also in old Southern Arabian, and in Phoenician theophoric names. A much later source of the imperial period, Philon of Byblos in his *Phoenician History*, while presenting a Euhemeristic genealogy of gods and divine powers, has Misor and Suduk among the offspring of Titans; his translation is *Eulutos*

[47] As in Reinhardt 1960, 11.

[48] Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1931, 17.

[49] Nilsson 1967, 479. On Pheme, see further Stafford 2000, 10–11.

[50] Even cult enters poetic imagery: murder as 'sacrifice' to Dike and Ate, Aesch. *Ag.* 1431 ff.; comic parody e.g. Plato comicus fr.188 Kassel-Austin: females sacrificing to Lordon and Kyptasos.

[51] See Assmann 1990.

[52] Assmann 161 n.2.

[53] Assmann 160–67.

[54] Zimmern 1901, 105–10, lines 127 ff.; the group of gods concerned is Shamash, Hadad, Marduk; Aia (wife of Shamash) and Bunene; Kittu and Misharu.

[55] KTU 1.123.14.

and *Dikaios*.[56] From *Misor*, he writes, Toth-Hermes was generated, from *Suduk* the Dioscuri or Korybantes. Through the variants of interpretation we are confronted with an astounding continuity from Ugarit to imperial Byblos, with the still older Near Eastern *koiné* in the background.

More impressive is the Iranian Mithras. This god has remained famous especially through his mysteries of late antiquity (which are not in evidence before about AD 90), but here we must focus on the prehistory of this god: Mithras is an Indo-Iranian god who appears both in the Veda and in the Avesta, and later in Persia, Anatolia and Rome.[57] He is attested already in the Bronze Age, in a Mitanni text preserved in the Hittite archives. By the Achaemenid epoch, Mithradates is a current name. But this old and important god's name has its fully transparent Indoeuropean meaning: 'treaty', 'contract', related to the root of 'middle', *medium*; Plutarch correctly translates *mesites*.[58] What is more, a treaty is concluded by the grasp of right hands; hence still in those late Mithras mysteries, the initiates are *syndexioi*, those connected by their right hand in allegiance.[59] We are confronted with an abstract acted out in ritual and worshipped for more than two thousand years.

There is more in the Iranian field. In the religion of Zarathustra, the high god, Ahura Mazda – which means 'the Wise Lord of Life' – is surrounded by six powers – 'archangels', some prefer to say – who are 'venerated' in all the Avestan liturgies and called the 'immortal Saints', *amesha spentas*; these are Vohu Manah 'Good Sense', Asha 'Truth', Xshathra 'Sovereignty', Armaiti 'Order', Haurvatat 'Health' and Ameretat 'Immortality' (directly related to Greek *ambrotos*). Worship is centred on a system of abstractions. That these six 'immortals' were, in turn, Zarathustrian transformations, conceptual masks of older 'true gods' of the Iranian pedigree, is a problematic thesis of Dumézil which we need not discuss here.[60]

Again, let us take a look at the Latin world. At Rome, 'abstract' gods appear in the very first strata which are available to investigation. There are Ops (Plenty) and Salus (Health), and especially Fides (Faith).[61] The temple of *Fides in Capitolio* was built around 250 BC, but the cult was traced back to Numa. And there was a remarkable ritual of 'right hands': the three *flamines*

[56] *FGrHist* 790 F 2.10,13. Baumgarten 1981, 175 f. Theophoric names: HAL 943; on Hebrew *mishor*, HAL 547.

[57] For a survey, see Turcan 1993.

[58] Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris* 46.369e.

[59] Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profanarum religionum* 5; Merkelbach 1994, 107.

[60] Dumézil 1945, accepted by Widengren 1965, 79 f.

[61] Wissowa 1912, 327–38; Otto *RE* VI 2281–6. *Fides in Capitolio*: Cicero, *On the Gods* 2.61; Wissowa 1912, 133; Latte 1960, 237. Attributed to Numa: Dionysios of Halicarnassus, *Antiquities* 2.75.3; Plutarch, *Numa* 16. See also Dieterich 1911, 440 f. That Greeks could misunderstand the imperialistic implications of Roman *fides* (Polybios 20.9.10 f.), is another story.

maiores would drive to the Capitolium to sacrifice with their right hand veiled in a white cloth. In the words of Livy (1.21.4), the right hand as the seat of promise and contract should be preserved uncontaminated (*fidem tutandam sedemque eius etiam in dexteris sacratam esse*). This is not 'late' nor any form of 'decline'. Another special and interesting case is Fortuna at Praeneste. The grand sanctuary there is Hellenistic, but Fortuna Primigenia is not just a variant of the Hellenistic Tyche. She has a special foundation legend, referring to her oracle by lots, and she is called *Iovis puer primigenia*, which is absolutely outside Roman pontifical religion; Jupiter is also represented as a child in her lap at Praeneste.[62] In Rome, Fortuna's temple at the Forum Boarium was attributed to Servius Tullius, and archaeology has confirmed an early date for the cult in this place.

If we finally come back to the Greeks, there are two goddesses who give the impression of being more than passing strokes of word play, Themis and Nemesis. Not by chance they occupy two adjacent temples at Rhamnus, Attica, where Nemesis clearly is the older Lady of the sanctuary. Both names have their clear meanings, though less clear etymologies. It is inviting to connect their names with two of the most ubiquitous roots of the Greek language, *the-* and *nem-*, but the word formation is strange; so is the semantic development. Themis has also been analysed as *themi-sta*, 'standing in the earth'.[63] And what about the suffixes in Nemesis?[64] Themis designates what is allowed by right or by use; it makes a pronouncement on certain situations or behaviour: 'it is *themis*', or 'it is not *themis*'. This is attested already in the Mycenaean epoch: *outemi*.[65] Themis, in a way, means a reassuring 'Yes', and Nemesis an equally resounding 'No', a negative reaction to some action or situation. The negated form *ou nemesis* appears as a predicate in a special situation, too; it has become famous as the judgement of the Trojan seniors on Helen in the *Teichoskopia* (*Iliad* 3.156). Nemesis is called the messenger of Dike by Plato (*Laws* 717d). She puts her foot on Hybris.[66] Nemesis must be placated, because she is so powerful – hence her temple.

Themis gets into Hesiodic myth: she is the second wife of Zeus (*Theogony* 901), after Metis; in other words, *themis* is a foremost concern of what a ruler should observe. She has three children, the *Horai*, called *Eunomia*, *Dike* and *Eirene*, 'Good Order', 'Right' and 'Peace' (*Theogony* 902). We find a double metabasis in the Hesiodic construct, from abstract to nature and from nature to abstract: *Horai*, a word of Indoeuropean provenience, means the marks of the year, the 'seasons'; in the Greek world there are three seasons, Spring,

[62] Wissowa 1912, 256–68, esp. 259 f.; Koch 1937, 47–9; Champeaux 1982; Cicero, *On the Gods* 2.85–7.

[63] Risch 1981, 183.

[64] On *nemesis* see Gruber 1963, 65–72.

[65] Gérard-Rousseau 1968, 158 f.

[66] See *LIMC* VI (1992) s.v.

Harvest and Winter, *ear*, *theros*, *cheimon*. Their regular and unchangeable sequence is the basis for human life, and the paradigm of cosmic order. But Hesiod once more makes a jump from the natural to the social level: what makes the basis of human life is the social rather than the natural order, hence the *Horai* become 'Good Order', 'Right' and 'Peace'.[67] Abstracts are 'good to think with'. How far this enters ritual worship is another question. We have no information about the 'origins' of the cults at Rhamnus. Themis intrudes into personal names at an early date, Themistokles and Themistios (Cyprus, sixth century), also Themistodoros, and there is a month Themistios in Thessaly, whereas names such as Nemesios belong to an imperial date, when Nemesis had her worship mainly in association with the games and the theatre. Nemesis though has an old and interesting mythology, which makes her, instead of Leda, the mother of Helen. This version appears in the old epic *Kypria*.[68] Nemesis is pursued, to her disdain, by Zeus; this looks like a variant of the myth of Demeter Erinys, or just Erinys, raped by Poseidon, and of the 'marriage' or rape of Thetis the sea-goddess by Peleus. The motif of metamorphosis at mating may even go back to Indoeuropean tradition.[69] It is strange how the abstract Nemesis has entered the pattern.[70]

Other cases where cult of abstracts appears to be ancient and irreducible are the Charites at Orchomenos, celebrated by Pindar (*Olympian* 14), and Eros at Thespiai. Eros there is worshipped in the form of a stone,[71] which does not necessarily refer to the stone age, but certainly transcends simplistic word games. And if the name Ares was originally an abstract,[72] one of the 'twelve gods' would enter this category in Greece, too.

To conclude. It is remarkable how many of the examples discussed enter one specific semantic field: that of justice, order, treaty, law, resentment and punishment: Ma'at, Misharu, Ṣädäq, Mithras, Asha, Fides, Themis, Nemesis, Dike. This does not detract from the role of rhetoric, but rather shows its necessity. It is the sphere of power and justice, of moral admonition and intensive pleading, where personification becomes most prominent, because it is here that we most intensively try 'to do things with words', to give a message to dumb or disobedient partners; and images of power are definitely preferable to sheer violence. It is worthwhile trying to

[67] See Rudhardt 1999. On the iconography of Themis, see *LIMC* VIII 1199 ff. Olympia, Heraion: Pausanias 5.17.1.

[68] Fr. 9 Bernabé; Burkert 1985, 185.

[69] Burkert 1979, 127.

[70] The cults of Themis and Nemesis (at Rhamnous and elsewhere) are discussed at length in Stafford 2000, 45–110.

[71] Pausanias 9.24.3 and 27.

[72] Nilsson 1967, 518; Burkert 1977, 262 f.; the Mycenaean evidence is inconclusive.

give impact to language, using all possible auxiliaries, be it ritual, or imagery. 'Do respect' what is being said – this brings about gods and abstracts simultaneously.

For a finale, I wish to draw attention to one case where we see how the worship of an abstract is installed by an individual within a Greek city, with pertinent motifs and strategies. This is Artemidoros of Perge who settled at Thera and left his monuments there about 260 BC.[73] He must have been well-to-do; at any rate he began to establish a sacred area, a *temenos* of his own, with altars hewn from the rock; the niches and the epigrams survive, even if the original *anathemata* have disappeared. Artemidoros, following a dream, decided to set up a conspicuous altar for Homonoia, 'Concord'; he claimed to do this 'on behalf of the polis':

> An immortal altar of Homonoia for the city has erected here
> Artemidoros, from Perge his father-city, according to a dream. (1342)

Of course he let the city know what he was doing, and this was not in vain. At the festival of Queen Arsinoe, Artemidoros was presented in public with an olive crown, a big one, on account of his religious activities:

> The people of Thera has crowned, at the Arsinoa-Festival, with the springs of an olive tree Artemidoros, who founded the eternal altars. (1343)

And Homonia the Goddess reacted:

> She, Homonoia the Goddess, gave due thanks for the altar, she gave the crown from the city, a large one, to Artemidoros. (1341, 3/4)

Thus, in the experience of Artemidoros, Homonoia is not just a concept but a power that makes herself felt, she answers, she pays her thanks. The experience of success plays a central role in religion anyway. In this case, the goddess continued to work on the polis. Artemidoros was naturalized, granted full citizenship of Thera:

> The community of Thera elected Artemidoros and honoured him with a crown, to be citizen without blame. (1344)

And his prestige persisted. After his death, Artemidoros was proclaimed a hero by no less an authority than the Delphic oracle.[74] Whoever arranged this, his family or his heirs, it was a public fact.

We see how worship of an abstract concept interacts with personal status and with the social field. The founding of an altar is recognized as a conspicuous activity 'for the city', with personal consequences at the level of civic rights, which in turn is interpreted as the 'favour' of the goddess. This

[73] *IG* XII 3 Suppl. 1333–50 (1904, pp. 294–8); see Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1932, 387 ff.; Nilsson 1974, 189 f.

[74] 1349; Fontenrose 1978, 256, H 37.

of course meant ritual activity at those altars which were to 'stay forever'. Artemidoros could not but sacrifice regularly, at his own expense, we guess, celebrating and reconfirming his bond with the city. The proclamation of a 'goddess Concord' within a city was not particularly original. About the time of Artemidoros there was a cult association at Plataiai worshipping 'Zeus Eleutherios and Homonoia' in memory of the Persian war.[75] In the city council, nobody would oppose Artemidoros' move. We do not know whether there was a special political crisis at Thera at the time, nor should we muse about the effect which the installation of an altar could have in such a case. But note the personal experience, the dream, the act, the goddess' thanks, and the claim of permanence of the 'immortal altars'. It is not just the use or misuse of language that makes divine abstracts, but the necessity of mastering the complexity of life situations by finding pertinent names. Homonoia, Concord, is such a name, badly needed even in later times, from the 'Place de la Concorde' in Paris to 'Omonoia Square' in contemporary Athens.

Abbreviations

AHw Soden, W. v. (1965–81) *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, Wiesbaden

ANEP Pritchard, J.B. (ed. 1969, 3rd edition), *The Ancient Near East in Pictures relating to the Old Testament*, Princeton

ANET Pritchard, J.B. (1969) *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament*, Princeton

BWL Lambert, W.G. (1960) *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, Oxford

CTH Laroche, E. (1971), *Catalogue des textes hittites*, Paris

HAL Koehler, L. and Baumgartner, W. (1967–90) *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, 3rd edition revised by W. Baumgartner, Leiden

KTU Dietrich, M., Loretz, O., Sanmartín, J. (1976) *Die Keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit* I, Kevelaer

KUB *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, Berlin 1921–44

Maqlû Meier, G. (1937) *Die assyrische Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû*, Berlin

RAss *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, Berlin 1932 ff.

SAHG Falkenstein, A. and Soden, W.v. (1953) *Sumerische und Akkadische Hymnen und Gebete*, Zürich

TUAT Kaiser, O. (ed. 1986–1991), *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments* II, Gütersloh

[75] See Dreyer 1999, 250. A full survey of Homonoia's cult is provided by Thériault 1996.

2

Disaster revisited: Ate and the Litai in Homer's *Iliad*

Naoko Yamagata

The allegory of Ate and the Litai recounted to Achilles by his old tutor Phoenix in *Iliad* 9.502–12 is one of the most studied examples of personification in Homer. *Ate* (ἄτη) is a sort of temporary blinding of mind, infatuation, delusion or the like, which leads one to serious errors. It can also mean the serious consequences of such errors or the agent which causes such mental conditions, most notably personified as the goddess Ate.[1] The Litai are the personification of supplications and prayers (λιταί), represented as themselves being suppliants.

In Phoenix's allegory, Ate appears to personify the force that made Agamemnon dishonour Achilles and take his prize, Briseis, away, which resulted in the disaster for the whole army. The Litai appear to personify the supplications that the Embassy in *Iliad* 9 is making to Achilles. Some argue that by rejecting the Embassy's plea to return to battle, Achilles himself is struck by *ate* and makes a fatal mistake which leads to the death of his beloved friend, Patroclus.[2] Others argue that Achilles is not himself a victim of *ate*, but his tragedy derives from others around him who are struck by *ate*.[3] The aim of this paper is to go one step further from the latter position and argue that the image of the personified Ate as described in Phoenix's allegory is, either deliberately or subconsciously, modelled on Achilles himself, and that many occurrences of *ate* – whether personified or not – are closely linked to his presence. Far from being a victim of *ate*, I argue that

[1] For the meaning of *ate*, cf. *LfrgE* (Snell and Erbse 1955–) s.v. ἄτη; Wyatt 1982; Erbse 1986, 11–17.

[2] E.g. Bowra 1930, 17; Fränkel 1975, 63; Lloyd-Jones 1971, 27; Arieti 1988, 4. Thornton 1984, 132, represents another version of this interpretatin that Achilles is hit by *ate* not in person but through his 'substitute' Patroclus.

[3] E.g. Redfield 1975, 107; Yamagata 1994, Chapter 4 = Yamagata 1991.

From *Personification In The Greek World: From Antiquity To Byzantium*, eds Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Copyright © 2005 by Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Published by Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, UK.

Achilles acts more as an author of *ate* in others around him, almost like the goddess Ate herself.

The allegory of Ate and the Litai (*Il.* 9.502–12) provides one of the two examples of Ate personified in Homer.[4] By now Agamemnon realizes his mistake in dishonouring Achilles, and sends Odysseus, Phoenix and Ajax to placate him.[5] Odysseus speaks first to convey Agamemnon's message with his proud list of many gifts offered as recompense and asks him to return to battle (222–306). To this Achilles reacts even more angrily, refuses to accept this as Agamemnon's sincere apology and threatens to leave for home (307–429). Then Phoenix's long speech follows, which contains the allegory of Ate and the Litai (502–14):[6]

> For there are also the Litai, the daughters of great Zeus,
> and they are lame and wrinkled, and cast their eyes sidelong,
> who toil on their way left far behind by Ate:
> but she, Ate, is strong and sound on her feet, and therefore
> far outruns all Litai, and wins into every land
> to force men astray; and the Litai follow as healers after her.
> If a man venerates these daughters of Zeus as they draw near,
> such a man they bring great advantage, and hear his entreaty;
> but if a man shall deny them, and stubbornly with a harsh word
> refuse, they go to Zeus, son of Kronos, in supplication
> that Ate may overtake this man, that he be hurt, and punished.
> So Achilleus: grant, you also, that Zeus' daughters be given
> their honour, which curbs the will of men, even of the noble ones.

The commonly accepted interpretation of this allegory is that Ate is swift and strong because her victim acts rashly and causes great damage, whereas the Litai's characteristics reflect those of the miscreant who is lame and slow because of his reluctance to apologize, is wrinkled because of the mental turmoil he is undergoing, and looks askance because he dares not look his victim in the face.[7] However, in this interpretation the Litai who are

---

[4] The other is in Agamemnon's speech at *Il.* 19.88–138.

[5] This is the order in which they speak to Achilles, but the order in which Nestor selects them on Agamenon's behalf is Phoenix, Ajax and Odysseus (9.168–9), i.e. in the order of their closeness to Achilles.

[6] In this paper, all the quotations from the *Iliad* are taken from Lattimore's translation of 1951 with some modification.

[7] E.g. Wilson 1996 on 503 and Griffin 1995 on 502–14: 'Ate is strong, because she overpowers her victims, and quick, because they act hastily and rashly. The prayers come along only when the damage has been done, and so they are lame and aged (like Phoenix and Nestor); they look askance, "because they wish to steer the stubborn man away from his unbending path" (H. Fränkel, *Early Greek Poetry and Philosophy* (Oxford, 1975), 63' (*sic*). Fränkel 1975, 63, also observes that the Litai are like old women because mildness and wisdom are more characteristically associated with old people. Postlethwaite (2000, 140), however, rejects Leaf's

themselves suppliants are compared to Phoenix (or the repentant Agamemnon) who is acting as a suppliant, whereas Ate is compared not to those who delude, but to those who are deluded such as Agamemnon as when he angered Achilles. I believe that the image of Ate here fits Achilles better than Agamemnon, not only because he is obviously 'strong' and 'swift-footed', but also because it is he who causes *ate* in Agamemnon. If we recall the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon in Book 1, Agamemnon's fatal mistake (which he does call *ate* at 19.88) was ultimately triggered by Achilles himself, because of his rash and undiplomatic criticism of the king.[8] In this sense Achilles has acted as the agent of Ate in causing blind anger and delusion in Agamemnon.

Another point to note is that there is no cult or iconography associated with Ate or the Litai as goddesses. This leads us to suspect that this allegory is an *ad hoc* invention by the poet to suit the context, i.e. the tale of Achilles.[9] If so, it must be legitimate to see a mirror image of Achilles in this episode and also to look for its possible echoes and reflections throughout the text.

If we look at the earlier books of the *Iliad*, Achilles can be seen to be acting like a child of Zeus, especially when he influences him – through his mother – to punish Agamemnon (1.394–12, 500–10).[10] The imagery is rather complex, for in this instance Achilles partly resembles the Litai who go to Zeus and ask him to punish those who dishonour them.[11] Significantly, however, it is not Achilles himself, but his mother Thetis who is shown to act as the suppliant to Zeus. This also reminds us that despite his divine blood Achilles has no access in person to Zeus, just as the goddess Ate is banned from Olympus in Agamemnon's tale (19.126–31).

In 19.86–137, Agamemnon makes a speech to end his quarrel with Achilles. In it, he maintains that it was *ate* sent by Zeus, Moira and Erinys

---

(1900, 408) interpretation that the allegory of the Litai is a description of Agamemnon, 'since Agamemnon has made it clear that he is neither penitent nor suppliant.'

[8] See especially the abusive opening lines of his speeches to Agamemnon at 1.122–9 and 149–71, and his rude interruption of Agamemnon's speech at 1.292 (*hypobleden*). On the effect of Achilles' interruption, see Rabel 1991, 106–16.

[9] Just as the paradigm of Meleager in the same speech of Phoenix and possibly also the character of Phoenix himself, here replacing Achilles' traditional tutor Chiron. Cf. Willcock 1964, Braswell 1971, 22–3 and Jaeger 1939, 24.

[10] NB especially the expressions of supplication on 394 (*lisai*), 407 and 502 (*lissomene*) and Achilles' reference to Agamemnon's *ate* (412).

[11] If we follow Phoenix's formula in Agamemnon's situation, it is Chryses who comes as the Litai and Agamemnon's rejection of his supplication is the cause of his *ate* i.e. his quarrel with Achilles. For this interpretation, cf. Griffin 1995, 133. Although the immediate consequence of rejecting the priest's supplication, i.e. the plague, is removed by returning Chryseis and appeasing Apollo, the result of Agamemnon's *ate* (in dishonouring Achilles in the assembly) is more lasting and more disastrous for Agamemnon and the other Achaeans.

which affected his mind when he angered Achilles (88). Then he describes the personified Ate as follows (19.91–4):

> Ate is the elder daughter of Zeus, the accursed
> who deludes all; her feet are delicate and they step not
> on the firm earth, but she walks on men's heads
> and leads them astray. She has entangled others before me.

The image of Ate is slightly different here from the one in Phoenix's allegory. She has tender feet and walks not on the ground but on the heads of those mortals to whom she brings ruin. In this and the following passage, where Ate's banishment by Zeus is described, the emphasis is placed on her divinity, especially her special relationship with Zeus as well as her ultimate alienation from him. Here her feet are also the focus of attention, though the ease of their movement is only implicit in this passage. Thus at least in two respects, i.e. her relationship with Zeus and the lightness of her steps, it is possible to see some resemblance between Ate and Achilles.[12] In addition, Agamemnon's own image in this scene, i.e. the man who comes last (19.51) and cannot stand up due to injury (cf. 11.252) echoes the image of the Litai who are slow and lame and will naturally not stand in front of the supplicated (9.503).

Agamemnon is by no means the only victim of *ate*. Patroclus, too, acts under *ate*'s influence when he pursues the Trojans even after he has achieved his initial objective of repelling them from the Achaean ships (16. 685 *meg' aasthe*). This is what Achilles specifically prohibits him from doing when he sends him out, as the poet reminds us (16.686–7). The author of this *ate*, according to the poet, is ultimately Zeus (16.688–91), but at the human level, we can trace the beginning of his disaster in Achilles' actions. Patroclus meets his end because Achilles sends him out instead of himself, and that in turn is a result of his initiative in sending Patroclus out to see the

[12] West 1997, 390, compares *Il.* 19.590–4 to an Old Assyrian incantation against the demon Lamaštu:

> She is (number?) one, she is holy ...
> offspring of a god, daughter of Anu:
> for her ill will, her base counsel,
> Anu her father dashed her down from heaven to earth,
> for her ill will, her disruptive counsel.
> Her hair is loose, her private parts are stripped.
> She goes straight to the godless man.

West notes her similarities in behaviour to Ate and in appearance to the Litai. If indeed Ate has her predecessor in Lamaštu and even in an old Near Eastern literature similar to this text, it is interesting to note that her feet do not get a specific mention, except that she 'goes straight' to her victims. It is as if the attention to the troublesome goddess' swift feet takes on a special meaning only in the context of the tale of Achilles, the swift-footed hero. This makes me suspect even more that Ate as swift-footed goddess is an invention, modelled on Achilles' own image.

difficulties the Achaeans are going through. The poet himself clearly signals that this errand is the beginning of his downfall (11.604). This then moves Patroclus to take Nestor's advice (11.795–802) and go into battle in Achilles' armour.

Moreover what drives Patroclus on is the great success he enjoys in repelling the Trojans. This is largely thanks to Achilles' armour that he is wearing, which causes panic among his enemy (16.278–83). In other words, it is Achilles' armour and its divine quality which delude him. The divine quality of the armour is emphasized by the poet in the scene in which Patroclus is paralysed by Apollo's blow (16.783–809 especially 797–800) and seized by the fatal *ate* (805). By the very act of wearing the divine armour and by impersonating Achilles, Patroclus is in effect going beyond his human limit and is punished by a divine agent, Apollo.[13] Therefore Achilles can be regarded as the author of Patroclus' *ate* in a complex way, first by inadvertently motivating Patroclus to go into the battle and also by lending him his own armour which deludes his mind.

Dolon is another unlikely victim of *ate*. He is a swift-footed, but otherwise unimpressive, Trojan who volunteers to go on a night mission to penetrate into the Achaean camp. Then he runs into Odysseus and Diomedes who are on a similar mission. When he is caught by the pair, he explains why he has undertaken this mission as follows (10.391–3):

> Hector has led my mind astray with many deceptions (*atai*).
> He promised me the single-footed horses of proud Achilles,
> Peleus' son, and the chariot bright with bronze, for my gift ...

The many *atai* which Dolon says led to his ruin clearly refer to Hector's many enticing words which promised him Achilles' divine horses as the reward. Achilles knows nothing of this, but here again by his very existence and the prestige represented by his divine possessions, he manages to become the cause of infatuation and disaster to a lesser man.[14]

Hector appears to be another victim of the same sort of *ate*, though the word itself, neither *ate* nor *aao* is explicitly applied to him. The root cause of his ruin is that he kills Achilles' beloved friend Patroclus. This not only makes him the target for Achilles' wrath but also 'goes to his head', as he boasts over the dying Patroclus who warns him that his own death at

---

[13] This aspect of Patroclus' error is highlighted by his earlier encounter with Apollo at 16.698–711 where Patroclus 'like a *daimon*' almost challenges the god.

[14] In Yamagata 1994, 54, n.30 (=Yamagata 1991, 11, n.28), I criticized Dodds (1951, 19, n.20) for his apparent insistence that *ate* was always divinely generated, and my principal counter-example was the *atai* in this passage which originated from Hector. However, with this fresh examination, I have come to conclude that even in this instance, too, something divine *is* at work, i.e. the allure of the divine horses of the half-divine hero.

Achilles' hand will come soon (16.844–54). Then Hector puts on Achilles' armour which Patroclus has been wearing, a fatal act as Zeus comments in his soliloquy (17.201–8):

> Ah, poor wretch! There is no thought of death in your mind now,
> and yet death stands close beside you as you put on the immortal armour
> of a surpassing man. There are others who tremble before him.
> Now you have killed this man's dear friend, who was strong and gentle,
> and taken the armour, as you should not have done, from his shoulders
> and head. Still for the present I will invest you with great strength
> to make up for it that you will not come home out of the fighting,
> nor Andromache take from your hands the glorious arms of Achilles.

The poet tells us that the armour fills Hector with Ares and strength (17.210–12), another confirmation of the divine quality of the armour and the danger it brings to its wearer.

The next stage of his fatal error is that he does not listen to Polydamas' proposal to retreat to Troy when Achilles has returned to the battlefield. Achilles manages to drive the Trojans away from Patroclus' body merely by his battle cries (18.203–38). Athena joins in his cries and lights up divine fire all around his body (206–14). This is one of the most striking manifestations of Achilles' divine quality, and Hector's decision to fight against such a warrior seals his fate.

Later Hector realizes his mistake (22.98–110), but does not call the cause of his rash decision *ate*, but *atasthaliai* (105), a term which points to a similar malfunction of mind in this context.[15] Because of the heavy losses his people have sustained, Hector's sense of shame (*aidos*) does not allow him to run back inside the walls of Troy without facing Achilles. It is his encounter with Achilles at various stages, first through Achilles' proxy and his armour and then with the man himself, that leads him to death. Achilles is the cause of his delusion and destruction throughout the poem.

Finally we turn to Priam's *ate* which is not directly applied to him but appears in a simile which describes his arrival at Achilles' hut. Priam goes to Achilles' hut in order to ransom Hector's body, when Achilles has just finished his meal and has only two of his men besides him (24.477–85):

> Tall Priam came in unseen by the other men and stood close beside him
> and caught the knees of Achilles in his arms, and kissed the hands
> that were dangerous and manslaughtering and had killed so many of his sons.
> As when dense disaster (*ate*) closes on one who has murdered
> a man in his own land, and he comes to the country of others,
> to a man of substance, and wonder seizes on those who behold him,

[15] For the convergence of the meanings of *ate* and *atasthaliai* in this specific context, cf. Hooker 1988, 9.

so Achilles wondered as he looked on Priam, a godlike man,
and the rest of them wondered also, and looked at each other.
But now Priam spoke to him in the words of a suppliant (*lissomenos*) ...

I believe that it is possible to read this *ate* in the context of Hector's fatal error and see in this scene the allegory of Ate and the Litai vividly illustrated. On the one hand is the mighty, swift-footed Achilles who overcame Hector. On the other hand is the old man who supplicates like the Litai, trying to make up for Hector's error induced by *ate* so that his body might be released. Of course, the imagery within the simile is more complex, for the roles of the suppliant and the supplicated are reversed. The one who is supplicated, Achilles, is the killer and the suppliant, Priam, is the rich local man.[16] In this particular scene, Achilles may not look like Ate personified, but he is fully aware of his own role in the old king's tragedy, and hints at further disasters that his valour is to bring to Troy (24.542–51). It is of course Achilles' killing of Hector that has caused the old man to take this desperate course of action, in much the same way as the desperate exile in the simile.

It has to be pointed out that *ate* does feature in a few other contexts in which Achilles does not figure at all. On two occasions it is Paris' *ate*, once referring to his abduction of Helen (6.356) and once to his judgement in declaring Aphrodite the winner of the divine beauty contest (24.28). In Paris' case, the ultimate cause of his *ate* must be Helen whose divine beauty causes him to make the fatal mistake, rather like Achilles' divine possessions which cause delusion in others. Another case is Agastrophus' mistake in not keeping his chariot nearby when he needs to escape death at the hands of Diomedes (11.338–42). This has no connection with Achilles' case whatsoever, and there is no apparent divine interference. There are also a number of cases of *ate* in the *Odyssey* which naturally have nothing to do with Achilles' tale and are apparently never personified. Clearly we cannot argue that *ate* manifests itself *only* through Achilles. Nevertheless, it can hardly be a coincidence that the overwhelming majority of the occurrences of the word *ate*/Ate and its cognate verb *aao* appear to be associated with Achilles' presence and especially that the only two cases of the personified Ate are clearly tailored to suit the tale of Achilles. This seems to reflect the concurrent influence of both Achilles and *ate* throughout the poem. The

[16] As noted by Eustathios. Cf. Richardson 1993 on 480–84; Postlethwaite 2000 on 480–82, who also points out that 'the simile recalls ... the stories of Phoenix (9.447–84) and Patroklos (23.84–90), both of whom fled to Phthia as suppliants and were taken in by Peleus; so Priam is here associated with the men Achilleus holds dearest ... '. At this level, Achilles is acting like his father, and Priam like Phoenix/Patroclus.

overall picture we have seen in the *Iliad* seems to me to point to the image of Achilles as an agent of Ate, or almost Ate incarnate.[17]

[17] Callimachus fr. 557 (Pfeiffer 1949) appears to refer to a certain person as Ate personified:

εἴτε μιν Ἀργείων χρῆν ἀάτην

(... or I should have called her/him the *ate* of the Greeks.)

Min in the text is more often taken as Helen (cf. Pfeiffer and Trypanis 1958), but it is equally plausible to take it as Achilles (cf. Wernicke in *RE* 1896). Admittedly by Callimachus' age the meaning of the word *ate* has shifted from 'delusion/deluder' to 'disaster/ruin', but it must be significant that the perspective for regarding a ruinous person as Ate incarnate did exist for the Hellenistic poet. I am grateful to Professor Herwig Maehler for discussion over the interpretation of this fragment.

3

Brightness personified: light and divine image in ancient Greece*

Eva Parisinou

The property of brightness is central to the formation of the divine persona in ancient Greek religious thought. As a necessary ingredient of the extraordinary and yet inexplicable essence of the supernatural, brightness draws the dividing line between the modest limits of human existence and the infinitely superior nature of its anthropomorphic divine counterparts. The light that gods embody normally assumes concrete forms with brightness concentrating on, and reflected by, specific physical traits, the colour of drapery, attributes or other bright objects with which the gods are associated.[1]

Divine images representing concepts in human form may also contain brightness of diverse types, and in connection with different aspects of their persona and functions. Among them, divinities incarnating the concept of celestial light form a fairly coherent group including the sun-god and the moon-goddess Helios and Selene, as well as minor figures, such as Eos, Iris and stars like Hesperos, Eosphoros, Orion, Arktos, Phosphoros and others.[2] Not all these deities enjoyed equal popularity as cult figures or had a well-established persona in terms of genealogical links and mythological status. Helios, Selene and, to a lesser extent, Eos, may be singled out as the most

* I thank the organizers and participants of the conference for their useful comments. This work was completed in Oxford during a Visiting Scholarship at St. John's College.

[1] For literary references to the gods' brilliant features: Handschur 1970, 25–32, 38–9, 46–7, 49–52, 55–6, 58–65, 68–72, 75–7, 79–80, 83–5, 88, 90, 93, 105, 128, 130, 142, 146, 148, 162–6, 168–9; Irwin 1974, 182, 184; Parisinou 2000a, 6 nn.11–2, 170. Bremer 1976, esp. 32–6, 94–8, 166–7, 175–8, 208–30.

[2] Other divine figures who were thought to have had capacity over weather phenomena, such as Zeus, are beyond the focus of this study either because their persona is not *exclusively* identified or perceived (in human experience) as brightness but preside over other, equally dominant, realms, or because of their pronounced personal features in Greek art and literature. I thank Professor Burkert for his remark on this aspect of the topic: Burkert 1997, 15–16; Bremer 1976, 96–7. For related problems in the study of Greek personification: Stafford 2000, 3–4.

From *Personification In The Greek World: From Antiquity To Byzantium*, eds Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Copyright © 2005 by Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Published by Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, UK.

prominent cult personalities with old Indoeuropean and Near Eastern roots, no doubt partly because of their major role in the early cosmogonic myths of Mediterranean and other populations. Yet, even in the cases of these primordial cosmogonic powers, geographical and temporal limitations were often imposed with regard to their cult popularity.[3]

Personified images of celestial light uniquely combine elements which at first glance may seem contradictory, namely the aniconic and abstract with the specific and anthropomorphic. The first pair of ingredients, the abstract and aniconic, are visually defined by a variety of circular or crescent-shaped patterns which are commonly thought to be promoting the abstract idea of brightness of the celestial bodies quite apart from their anthropomorphic image. Forms such as the rayed solar circle, the thin crescent of the moon and the bright circles, spots or rays of the stars recur in Greek art and literature from as early as Homeric times. Their roots should undoubtedly be sought in empirical observations of stars, followed by descriptions of celestial bodies by philosophers and scientists of the times.

The efficiency of these precise forms of aniconic representation in conveying the abstract aspect of celestial brightness is clearly manifested by their inclusion in the solar imagery of a wide range of cultures and periods. Geographically, this imagery extends beyond the Mediterranean lands and its northern European territory[4] and covers South and Central Asia and Indonesia, with the first aniconic representations of celestial bodies occurring well before their historical period.[5] Early examples from mainland Greece dating to 1500 BC include the golden rings from grave circle A of Mycenae and from Tiryns (figs 3.1a–b) reflecting an earlier tradition of including abstract celestial signs in minor arts which may also be traced in Minoan artefacts.[6]

These abstract representations of the sun and the moon not only pre-existed their anthropomorphized images in art, but remained inextricable components of their personified successors during historical times in both art and literature. The persistence of the abstract aspect of brightness of celestial bodies stands as proof of the lasting effect that these shapes of natural light made upon human visual experience above any personified

[3] For the special nature of personifications of natural elements: Duchemin 1980. For the cults of Helios and Selene: Burkert 1985, 175–6; Hamdorf 1964, 18–9, 85–7 (Helios), 21, 88 (Selene), 84–5 (Eos, Hemera and Nyx). Otto 1912, 63–70 (Helios). For the absence of cult of the stars in pre-Roman times: Karusu 1984, 904.

[4] For early aniconic representations of solar symbols in the Mediterranean; Greece: Nagy-Valavanis 1993, 285–286; Goodison 1989, 12–15; 72–5, 84–6, 128–31; Egypt: Romano 1993, 322 no. 450; Fittschen 1973 10 n.42. For solar symbols in Northern Europe: Green 1993, 298, 300, 301; Green 1991, 20–28, 35–46.

[5] For South and Central Asia and Indonesia: Singh 1993, 178–80; Sedyawati 1993, 193–5; Davis-Kimball and Ivanovich Martynov 1993, 209–10.

[6] For examples: Sakellariou 1966, 47 and n.241.

image of them. Homer and Hesiod repeatedly refer to the multiple applications of the light of these sky gods to human life, notably as a guide in navigation (*Odyssey* 5.272–5) and farming (*Works and Days* 615, 619–20). Bright epithets of celestial bodies abound in Greek poetry such as *lampros*, *phaethon* or *phaeinos*, underlining the most prominent feature of these divinities, which merges with, or supplements, their human form.[7] The waxing of the moon goddess which is a feature directly relevant to the cyclical transformation of her bright shape, rather than a transformation of her personalized image, is also recalled in literature on several occasions with the earliest to be found in the *Iliad* (18.484) and the *Homeric Hymn to Selene* (32.12). The brightness of the stars is frequently mentioned in Homer separately from their anthropomorphic image through similes, for example, as parallels to gleaming beauty (*Il.* 6.399–400), armour (*Il.* 22.26–31) and drapery (*Il.* 6.294–5), or in descriptions of the transformation of heroes' mortal image into bright stars with the aid of gods (*Il.* 5.5–6). The description of the shield of Achilles in book 18 (482–489) of the *Iliad* depicts a whole cluster of bright heavenly bodies, though it remains unclear whether their appearance should be reconstructed as abstract signs or in human form.[8] Abstract star signs in rayed form appear on red-figure Attic representations of shields standing as a visual metaphor of the objects' brilliant property.[9]

The theories of the Presocratic philosophers revived artists' interest in the abstract aspect of celestial bodies with regard to their shape, position and source of brightness.[10] Anaximander observed that the stars are circles of fire while the sun and the moon are blazing circles.[11] Other Presocratics compare the stars to nails fixed on the firmament or with petals of fire as if painted.[12] In the fifth century, images of astral bodies tend to assume more concrete forms, and their aniconic depictions grow in size and variety, no doubt due to their continuous reassessment by both natural philosophers and poets.[13]

Alongside the impersonal aspect of brightness one notices the development of its anthropomorphic supplement which assumes an almost full form in early Greek poetry. The personification of the sun was inseparable from his supposed divinity. A dramatic manifestation of this

[7] Handschur 1970, 76–8, 87–9. Other epithets associated with celestial bodies: Handschur 1970, 55–6 (*aiglêeis*), 58–9 (*asteroeis*), 62–3, 65 (*têlaugês, puraugês*), 72 (*hêlektôr*), 88 (*phaesimbrotos*).

[8] For a discussion: Edwards 1991, 211–12; Fittschen 1973, 10–11 and figs i–vii.

[9] For example: Rome, Musei Vaticani 16571 (Achilles Painter), Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3695 (Douris), Berlin, Staatliche Museen 2294 (Foundry Painter).

[10] Yalouris 1980, 314–15.

[11] DK 84, 9ff; 86, 32, 92, 10ff; 93, 24.

[12] DK 93, 26.

[13] For astral representations in the fifth century: Schauenburg 1962, esp. 51–6; Karusu 1984, 926–7.

reality was the prosecution and exile suffered by Anaxagoras (DL 2.12) who dared to admit that the sun was nothing more than a red-hot mass. In Hesiod's *Theogony* (371–4) Helios' parentage is clearly defined including his fraternal relationship to Selene and Eos. Literature and art commonly present Helios as a charioteer whose chariot is drawn by swift horses which are sometimes furnished with wings (figs 3.2a–b). The imagery of the solar wagon appears to have undergone a long history of formation in the Mediterranean area and northern Europe from as early as the Bronze Age.[14] Less likely perhaps are modern identifications of eye-symbols on artefacts from the same broad area and time-span as reflections of the well-attested Greek descriptions of the sun-god's vision which covers the whole world, through his bright rays.[15] Bright rays decorate Helios' crown (Mimnermos fr.11) which, in art takes the form of a solid or rayed solar disc (figs 3.2a–b).[16] These rays sometimes function as weapons and are described as 'hot arrows' with the earliest such occasions in Homer.[17] Gold is associated with the anthropomorphic persona of the sun-god in literature taking the form of his helmet (*Hom. Hymn* 31.10) when he appears in his chariot which is made of gold and has golden reins (Proklos, *Hymn* I.1; Soph., *Ajax* 847).

This general image does not undergo any significant transformation through time and is found in places like Rhodes from the fourth century onwards and also in South Italian vase-painting.[18] In the latter genre, the amalgamation of the abstract bright symbol with the personified image of Helios is reflected by the tendency to experiment with existing iconographic types. Manifestation of this may be found in the image of the charioteer on an Apulian bell-crater, work of the Painter of Heidelberg U6 (Judgement Group), dated to about 360–40 BC (fig. 3.3); here, the abstract solar-rayed circle seems to be encapsulating the male figure who should probably be identified with the sun-god.[19] Later artistic trends, many of Rhodian provenance, reduced the image of the sun to the portrait of a young male wearing a rayed crown. This iconographical pattern was copiously

[14] For a full list of references and discussion: Yalouris and Visser-Choitz 1990, 1005–06; Wright 1995, 38; Otto 1912, 87–90. For artistic representations of Helios' chariot: Yalouris and Visser-Choitz 1990, 1008–18 nos 1–98 and 101–123. For the solar wagon imagery: Greene 1991, 66–7, 112–16, 56–60.

[15] For references to Helios' eye: Yalouris and Visser-Choitz 1990, 1007; Otto 1912, 58–60, 73. For modern interpretations of eye-symbols as solar signs: Greene 1991, 38–9, 109–12.

[16] For example: Helios wearing solid circular headdress: Yalouris and Visser-Choiz 1990, 1008 nos 3–9, 11, 1009 nos 18–9, 21–3, 1012 nos 73–82. Helios wearing rayed crown: ibid. 1008 no. 2, 1009 nos 16–17. Rayed circular symbols from Northern Europe of doubtful relation to the sun-disc are cited in Green 1991, 35–6.

[17] For references: Otto 1912, 87.

[18] For example, Yalouris and Visser-Choitz 1990, 1009–10 nos 17–29, 1013 nos 77–82, 1017 nos 112–16.

[19] Yalouris and Visser-Choitz 1990, 1009 no. 19: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum IV 1131.

reproduced in decorative arts of Hellenistic and Roman date, and is contemporary to images of Helios with torches in hand.[20] The role of Helios as Torch-bearer (*Dadouchos*) at the Eleusinian mysteries may not be entirely unrelated to the introduction of torches in his imagery.[21]

Personified images of stars appear in Attic and South Italian vase painting from the second half of the fifth century,[22] a remarkably later date compared to representations of the sun-god. Following early literary images in Homer (*Il.* 8.485–6) and tragic drama (Eur., *Ion* 82–5), they take the form of naked youths as they dive into the Ocean to give way to the bright light of day (fig. 3.4).[23] Other personified images of stars are included in representations of broader divine groups comprising gods of natural light, such as in a work by the Underworld Painter, where a winged naked boy (usually identified as Phosphorus) flies before Helios' chariot which is driven by Eos, portrayed as a charioteer.[24] Phosphorus wears a nimbus consisting of alternating long and short flame-like rays in a pattern identical to that of the aniconic images of stars which crown the heads of Helios' horses, and different from the solid nimbuses of the daylight gods, Helios and Eos.

Unlike daylight, which appears to be more associated with male divinities, the brightness or darkness of the night are portrayed in both art and literature through female personifications, with the conspicuous exception of the stars who are male youths. Whether there was a deliberate choice of female, and on one occasion, young male, gender, as suitable codes to embody properties of mild light, or even the total absence of it, by contrast to the usually mature male gender of the sun, the most brilliant celestial divinity, is difficult to assess. Attempts to pin down the underlying reasons for such a choice should rather be read in the wider context of the world's mythological traditions about celestial deities and their religions, and is therefore beyond the scope of this study.[25] The personified form of Selene appears in literature and art no later than that of the sun god, and is always

[20] For portraits of Helios: Yalouris and Visser-Choitz 1990, 1018–28 nos 124–323. For torch-bearing types of the sun-god: ibid. 1012 nos 56 and 60–62, 1030 nos 353–8 and 366–7, 1031 no. 374 (Roman coins); 1013 no. 71 (Gigantomachy-altar of Pergamon); 1014 no. 84 (Hellenistic cameo); 1026 no. 294 (marble table); 1027 no. 306 (late Hellenistic grave relief). For discussion of the torch-bearing types, ibid. 1033.

[21] For Helios as *Dadouchos*: Yalouris and Visser-Choitz 1990, 1033.

[22] For representations of stars: Karusu 1984, 918 nos 74–6, 920 nos 85–6, 921–2 nos 88–9; also possibly 918–19 nos 80–84; Schauenberg 1962; Yalouris 1980; Fittschen 1973, 11 n.43.

[23] London E466: Karusu 1984, 907 no. 10 pl. 673.

[24] Munich Staatliche Antikensammlungen 3297.

[25] For a brief survey of theories about the attribution of gender to Greek personifications: Stafford 2000, 27–35. However, the suggestions offered here have very little, if anything, to do with the nature of celestial personifications. For the latter, see n.3.

mentioned in connection with her brightness.[26] Her radiance is concentrated in her face in the *Homeric Hymn to Selene* 3–4 and embraces the earth; it is enhanced by her contrast to the dark nocturnal sky. Her golden crown is specifically mentioned in the *Hymn* (5), together with her white arms (17) and a shining team of horses for her chariot which also appear in art from the early fifth century BC. Alternatively she rides a horse or a mule among other celestial divinities such as Helios, Nyx and Eos. The abstract aspect of Selene's brightness is also pronounced in the *Hymn* (11–12) with regard to her waxing and waning, which are said to be useful signs to mortals (13). It also appears in art as a nimbus-like headdress of the goddess or next to her, while torches are not uncommon attributes of Selene from Hellenistic times onwards.[27]

Celestial darkness, on the other hand, such as the Night, Nyx, seems to have been expressed using similar codes (aniconic and personified) in both art and literature. Her black colour (*kelainê* or *melaina*) contrasts with the bright celestial divinities bearing allusion to her non-personified aspect, namely the physical phenomenon of darkness that she sheds over the world.[28] The darkness of Nyx is less often translated into image by means of black borders in the dress of her personified figure or a black cloth draped around her chiton.[29] But apart from Nyx, colours also define the amount and type of light shed by other divinities like the goddess of Dawn, Eos, who is particularly associated in literature with pink and orangey yellow, in Homer commonly called 'rosy-fingered' (*rhododaktylos*; *Od.* 5.121–4; *Il.* 6.175) or 'saffron-robed' (*krokopeplos*; *Il.* 8.1; 19.1). Such colours describe the subtle, first light that she shed on earth which was quite distinct from the shining white or golden light of the sun and moon or the darkness of night.[30] Iris, the goddess of the rainbow, is associated with colours from as early as Homer (*Il.* 11.27) where also her bright golden wings are mentioned (*chrysopteros Il.* 8.398). Ovid (*Met.* 1.270) refers to her colours explicitly linking them with her dress. In art the role of Iris as messenger of the gods seems to be far

[26] For a full range of representations of Selene: Karusu 1984, 910–15 nos 18–73; Gury 1994, 706–15.

[27] For Selene's nimbus: Gury 1994, 708 no. 13–16, 711 no. 52. For Selene with torches: op. cit., 707 nos 5 and 8, 708 nos 13, 18, 22 and 25, 709 nos 28–33, 710 nos 43, 45 and 46, 711 nos 55, 58, 61 and 65, 712 no. 68, 713 nos 79 and 714.

[28] For references: Handschur 1970, 178–9, 180, 184–5, 187–8, 194, 199–201, 207–08, 222, 224; Karusu 1984, 905. For the contrast between daylight and night: Irwin 1974, 158–73.

[29] For artistic representations of the Night bearing this colour: Papastavrou 1992, 906 no. 5 pl. 671; Karusu 1984, 906 no. 5.

[30] For the full range of epithets reflecting the colours of Eos: Weiss 1986, 748; Handschur 1970, 56, 88, 105, 116, 142. For the colour epithets associated with Eos in lyric poetry, see Hindley 2002.

more pronounced than her bright aspect, which is however not entirely absorbed by her former capacity.[31]

Further bright features of the anthropomorphized personae of Eos and Iris are their white or golden wings (*leukopteros* or *chrysopteros*; Eur. *Tro.* 848–9), white horses (*leukopôlos*; Soph. *Aias* 673; Aesch. *Pers.* 386–7) and white face and eyes (Eur. *El.* 102, 730). Late Hellenistic and Roman representations of Eos on coins include torches held by the goddess who leads a chariot in a manner similar to the iconography of Selene and Helios.[32] Horses form part of her image in art as in the case of Helios, Nyx and Selene. In this respect, comparison may be made to non-celestial divinities whose image is associated with both light and horses in art and literature. These include the Thessalian goddess En(n)odia, Hekate and the Thracian goddess Bendis, in their capacity as light-bearers, Phosphoroi.[33] The role of the horse in connection with divinities who incarnate or bear light is not clear. Could this be taken as a suggestion of constant movement in the gods' operations? In the case of celestial personifications, could the horse be alluding to their regular movement along their orbits to bestow or withdraw light from the humans? The swiftness of these deities is reflected by other codes in art and literature, such as their bright coloured wings. A further potentially useful detail is that horses, and more generally swift animals, are commonly associated with bright or shiny colours in literature, the earliest examples being in Homer; the latter would have been reflected either by the colour of their fur or by their names which often suggest bright and/or shiny colour.[34]

Further associations between celestial personifications and animals include bulls, possibly due to their ancient astral connotations. Links between the bull and the sun are found on Crete where the sun was worshipped in bull form (*adiounos tauros*) with the Cretan god Talos usually wearing bull's symbols.[35] The group of constellations of the zodiac called 'Taurus', the Bull, is said to have first been recognized in the Near East in the third millenium BC.[36] The constellations with which the Bull is particularly identified in Greek literature are the Hyiades and its associated

[31] For the iconography of Iris: Kossatz-Deissmann 1990, 744–60.

[32] For torch-bearing representations of Eos: Weiss 1986, 755 no. 40, 757 no. 45.

[33] Parisinou 2000a, 36–7, 85; Chrysostomou 1998, 94–5.

[34] Handschur 1970, 24, 32, 39, 56, 78, 88, 93, 96, 125, 145, 164; Irwin 1974, 214. For the involvement of the horse in solar imagery from northern Europe: Green 1991, 57–8, 100, 116–19.

[35] For the cult of Helios as bull: Otto 1912, 63, 66, 72. Yalouris and Visser-Choitz 1990, 1006. For associations of sun-gods with the bull: Rice 1998, 103–04 (Mesopotamia), 163 (Arabia). For bulls or bulls' horns in representations of Selene: Gury 1994, 706, 707 no. 9, 711–12 nos 58–66. Also n. 25.

[36] Rice 1998, 16–18.

group, the Pleiades. Akkadian versions of the constellation of Taurus in Mesopotamia described it as 'Bull of Light'.[37]

Another aspect of affinity between personifications of celestial brightness is their close genealogical links. Helios, Selene and Eos are all children of the primal couple Theia and Hyperion. Nyx is less directly connected with bright celestial divinities, being closer by nature to the dark Chaos (*Theog.* 123). Her brother is Erebos and she shares close links with Aither and Hemera, the second being the divine personification of the day. One notices however that even non-celestial light-bearing divinities are not totally unrelated to their celestial counterparts. Eros, for example, is the son of Iris, the rainbow goddess, in a fragment by Alkaios (327 Voigt) or son of Chaos according to Ibykos (Page *PMG* fr. 324) or even son of Nyx, according to Bacchylides (9.72–3), while the Erinyes and Lyssa are Iris' daughters.[38]

The study of divine personifications associated with brightness does not end with images of celestial light, regardless of the particular intensity of this association between celestial light and divinity. Other personifications which bear, or are perceived as, light, in human imagination, include Eros, Dike, Lyssa, Nike, Hestia and group deities, such as the Erinyes, the Charites, and perhaps of a looser relevance, the Horai. These abstractions form a less unified group compared to celestial personifications with regard to their nature, mythological persona, cult associations and popularity. Cult does not, in fact, seem to be a strong feature of these divinities who, with the exception of Nike and Erinyes, hardly ever received signs of intense worship.[39] The property of brightness associated with these divinities manifests itself in a variety of ways, such as fair-coloured or shining traits of their anthropomorphic persona and sparkling attributes. In this respect, their brightness corresponds closely to that of common gods. On a more abstract level, most of these personifications can cause highly excited physical or psychological states in mortals, often through their brilliant attributes or features, in specific areas of human activity.

The brightness of Eros takes the form of blonde hair, often mentioned in early poetry (*chrysokomês*; Page *PMG* fr. 358 Anakreon; Eur. *IA* 548; *Hipp.* 1275); this feature is supplemented by bright devices, such as the torch. The latter is added to his image in art from as early as the second quarter of the fifth century. Images of the flying or running torch-bearing Eros are

[37] Rice 1998, 18. For associations of the bull and the moon: Rice 1998, 15, 57, 103, 111, 195, 210.

[38] Hermary, Cassimatis and Vollkommer 1986, 850–51.

[39] For the cults of: Nike: Scherf 2000, 907; Shapiro 1993, 28–9; Hamdorf 1964, 58–9, 112–13. Eros: Hermary, Cassimatis and Vollkommer 1986, 851; Graf 1998a, 90–91. Erinyes: Johnston 1998, 72. Dike: Shapiro 1993, 39–44; Shapiro 1986, 389; Hamdorf 1964, 52–3. Charites: Schachter 1997, 1103; Harrison 1986, 192–3; Hamdorf 1964, 45. Hestia: Graf 1998b, 512–14. Horai: Heinze 1998, 717. Lyssa: Shapiro 1993, 168–79 (no evidence for cult).

common in South Italian vase-painting as well as in fourth-century and Hellenistic reliefs from Delos and Attica.[40] This image is found later on Roman coins from Aphrodisias, Caria and Gordion dating to the second and third centuries AD.[41] The function of the torch in the hands of Eros may at first seem somewhat obscure as it does not link to any immediately recognizable context, and because in most scenes it is the sole object held by a flying or a running Eros. Sappho (LP fr. 31, 48) and Plato (*Charm.* 155D; *Tim.* 70B) reveal relevant aspects of erotic desire by describing it as an intensely burning feeling; this view is confirmed by Aristotle (*Part. an.* 650b35) who asserts that passion produces heat.[42]

Torches are a form of light that is associated with the personification of victory, Nike. Although the earliest occurrence of Nike with torches in hand is hard to establish in strict chronological terms, one may generally say that such images are encountered in representations comprising female winged figures from the late sixth century onwards.[43] Torch-bearing Nikai also appear in the context of athletic victories, such as torch-races where, apart from torches, they also hold ribbons (*tainiai*) for the victorious athletes (fig. 3.5).[44] Torch- and ribbon-bearing females resembling flying Nikai are sometimes found in the area under the handles of late fifth-century red-figure vases in scenes depicting newly-wed couples or brides receiving gifts on the day after their marriage (*Epaulia*).[45] The association of Nikai with torches cannot be unrelated to ancient practices of raising beacon-torches to celebrate victories in war which apparently corresponds with the poetic use of the concepts of fire and light as reflections of hope, joy, enthusiasm and triumph. Pindar often parallels the glory and joy gained by athletic victories to a shining flame or a light that would last long in public memory (*Ol.* 4.10–1; *Pyth.* 9.45; *Nem.* 10.2). In a wedding context, the flame of Nike's torch would consequently reflect the joy arising from the successful passage of the couple to a productive lifestyle of maturity according to the generally approved, conventional codes of civic conduct.[46]

Further torch-bearing personifications include Hestia, the goddess of the household hearth who is sometimes depicted in scenes of weddings, where she may stand next to, or even sit on, a burning domestic altar.[47] Statues of

[40] For references: Parisinou 2000a, 115 nn.4–5, 192.

[41] Hermary, Cassimatis and Vollkommer 1986, 882 nos 373–7, 921 nos 845 and 848, 927–8 nos 936–43.

[42] Parisinou 2000a, 115; Bremer 1976, 223–8.

[43] Moustaka, Goulaki-Voutira and Grote 1992, 853 nos 11 and 15.

[44] Parisinou 2000a, 40–42; Moustaka, Goulaki-Voutira and Grote 1992, 860 no. 113 (possible example), 867 no. 184, 869 no. 221, 870 no. 232, 873 no. 261, 878 no. 340.

[45] For references: Parisinou 2000a, 59; Parisinou 2000b, 34.

[46] Parisinou 2000a, 56–7; Parisinou 2000b, 30–34.

[47] Sarian 1990, 410 n.21, 26–7; Parisinou 2000a, 59, 79; Parisinou 2000b, 35.

Hestia with torches are not unknown while her associations with light seem to survive throughout antiquity as is suggested by her image on a Coptic textile of the fourth century AD, which depicts her wearing a nimbus among other figures with nimbuses, one of whom holds a tablet which reads 'PHOS' the Greek word for light.[48]

Clear links with light may be noted in the nature of the Charites, personifications of charm, favour and gratitude and daughters of bright divinities, namely Aigle (whose name means brightness) and Helios according to Antimachos. [49] They wear gleaming clothes and jewellery, and their gifts to their mortal protegées often manifest themselves as brightness.[50] Related to the Charites in parentage, the Horai were daughters of celestial divinities according to late sources, namely Helios and Selene while one of them was servant of Helios.[51]

On the other hand, it is indeed not surprising that female personifications incarnating justice and vengeance such as Dike (Justice), the Erinyes (Furies) and Lyssa (Madness) derive from a divinity of darkness, namely Nyx. Dike is related to the Erinyes not only via their common parent, Nyx, but also in nature, appearance and their interference in human affairs.[52] They are both stern and fearsome in countenance with a piercing glance, and, occasionally, wings. Torches are sometimes held by figures of Dike in South Italian vase-painting within a broader underworld setting.[53] Dike shines and has glaring eyes in the *Oresteia*, a feature not unrelated to the often destructive consequences that she brings to those involved in misconduct.[54]

Erinyes and Lyssa use torches as weapons to revive in the heart of their victims burning feelings of remorse and guilt, leading them to a confused state of mind which may be paralleled to darkness (fig. 3.6).[55] The state of madness that their victims experience drives them to illogical acts and an unbridled state. In a rhetorical argument, Aeschines the orator explicitly refers to the Erinyes who punish the impious on stage using their torches (1.190). The Erinyes see everything using their glaring eyes in a way parallel to celestial divinities who do not miss any detail from the life of mortals

[48] For torch-bearing statues of Hestia: Sarian 1990, 410 no. 21. For the image on the Coptic textile: ibid. 410 no. 28.

[49] For the bright connotations of the name: Handschur 1970, 54–6.

[50] For the gifts of Charites and their broader associations with light: MacLachlan 1993, 52–3, 86, 115–16; Bremer 1976, 121, 153, 215, 217–18, 291–6.

[51] Casal 1990, 502–03.

[52] Parisinou 2001, 62. For the affinities of the two see also Aellen 1994, 58–66.

[53] Shapiro 1986, 390 nos 14 and 16.

[54] For discussion and references: Bremer 1976, 240, 347–9, 362–78. Parisinou 2000a, 113; Shapiro (1986), 389.

[55] Parisinou 2001, 64–5.

(Soph. *El.* 113). Artistic convention often denotes the dark aspect of the nature of the Erinyes via features like black skin and wings (in accordance with the colour of their mother, Nyx), as in the scene of the punishment of Agrios.[56] The family links of the Erinyes with the Night are enhanced by their extensive nocturnal activities when they hunt their victims day and night, by their home in the darkness of the underworld in tragic drama, and by their worship which seems to have largely taken place at night. Nocturnal sacrifices are offered to the Erinyes by Clytaemnestra in the *Choephoroi* (536–7), after a prophetic dream heralding her own disaster.

At the end of this review, I should begin by making a broad distinction between the main areas of personifications which are associated with light in one way or another: on the one hand are those who incarnate celestial light, on the other, divinities who are reflections of, or even cause to their victims, a physical or psychological state which is perceived as light or darkness.[57] Celestial divinities are made of light or darkness and their nature is reflected by both abstract symbols of light (like discs, crescents, star shaped signs) and by specific iconographical details like rayed headresses, torches and golden items of dress and possessions. This group differs considerably from the Olympian gods, whose brightness focuses mainly on external features of their anthropomorphic appearance. The second range of divine personifications are only partly associated with light or darkness. They use light and fire or inspire feelings that resemble these elements, implying their particularly intense effect on the human mind; this effect ranges from triumph, glory or a confused and frightened state of mind to vengeance and restitution of just order. These bright personifications often share not only similar attributes with the Olympian gods, but, in certain cases, also the effect that their light brings to mortals. A torch-bearing Artemis, for example, is often introduced in scenes depicting her retribution on disrespectful mortals, such as Aktaion, Marsyas or Bellerophontes, while Pindar compares her revenge on mortals to a raging fire (*Pyth.* iii, 35–6). To conclude, one should admit that personifications embodying, or using, light or darkness, of one or another form, are tangible expressions of the concepts that they embody in a way that is just as distinct and long lasting in the human imagination as that of any other common god who carries light. Indeed, their effectiveness as sophisticated incarnations of concepts is further shown via their cross-cultural links, particularly in the case of personified celestial divinities and, to a lesser extent, the non-celestial bright personifications.

[56] Sarian 1986, 838 no. 105 (Python, ca. 340–330 BC); *LIMC* 1 Agrios 307 no. 1 pl. 226. Parisinou 2001, 62–3. For the nature of Erinyes as personifications, see Aellen 1994, 82-90. See also Burton (*infra* pp. 55–7).

[57] For this contrast and its recurrence in literature: Bremer 1976, esp. 21–108; Irwin 1974, 111–200.

Fig. 3.1a Aniconic celestial bodies. Gold ring from grave circle A, Mycenae, c. 1500 BC.

Fig. 3.1b Aniconic celestial bodies. Gold ring from Tiryns, c. 1500 BC.

Fig. 3.2a The chariot of Helios. Drawing from aa Attic black-figure lekythos, c. 490 BC.

Fig. 3.2b The chariot of Helios. Drawing from an Attic black-figure amphora by the Diosphos Painter, c. 480–70 BC.

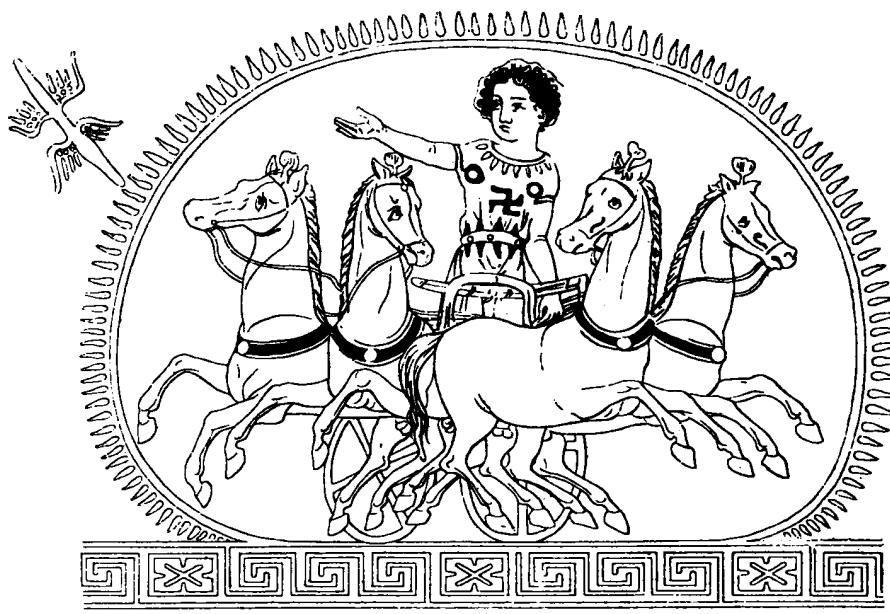


Fig. 3.3 The chariot of Helios. Drawing from an Apulian bell-krater by the Painter of Heidelberg U6 (Judgement Group), c. 360–40 BC.

Fig. 3.4 Stars dive into the sea at sunrise. Attic, red-figure calyx-krater, c. 450–400 BC.

Fig. 3.5 Detail of a Panathenaic amphora from Eretria c. 363/2 BC: statue of a Nike holding a racer's torch.

Fig. 3.6 Torch-bearing Erinys in scene with Ixion on the wheel. Drawing from a Campanian amphora.

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

4

The gender of Death*

Diana Burton

A great deal has been written on the question of why Greek personifications should be predominantly female, or, to approach the problem from another direction, why abstract nouns, grammatically speaking, should be so frequently of the feminine gender.[1] The question that I would like to address in this paper is one that has perhaps received rather less attention, and that is to speculate on the effects of their gender upon the interpretation of personified abstractions; how the fact that Thanatos is male and Ker female, for example, affected their depiction in art and literature, and their role and interpretation within the public consciousness. I am starting from the assumption that, as Marina Yaguello among others has argued, the interpretation and description of a personification will vary according to the perceived social status and characteristics of his or her gender.[2] In other words, male and female personifications are depicted in ways that reflect the common ideology of how men and women are perceived to behave and what makes them tick.

* I would like to dedicate this paper to Dr Alex Scobie, whose suggestions provided the impetus for it, but who did not live to see it written. It was presented at the conference 'Personifications in the Greek World', London, September 2000; my thanks to those present who gave suggestions and encouragement. I am grateful to Victoria University for research leave, and to the School of Advanced Studies, London, and in particular to the Institute of Classical Studies and the Warburg Institute, for providing the Fellowship, the libraries, and the unfailing help that made this research possible.

[1] On the gender of Greek abstractions, see Stafford 1998 (= Stafford 2000, 27–35). More generally, see, for example, Yaguello 1978.

[2] Yaguello 1978, 91–113; Dale Spender argues (with particular reference to sexism in modern English) that social patterns are so intertwined with the semantic structure of the language as to be inseparable, and, indeed, that language acts as a determinant of social realities (Spender 1990: 31, 138 and *passim*).

From *Personification In The Greek World: From Antiquity To Byzantium*, eds Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Copyright © 2005 by Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Published by Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, UK.

There is an important (if simplistic) distinction to be drawn between the ideology of how a man or woman should behave, the stereotype (also a form of ideology) of how they are thought to behave, and the reality of how they did behave. In terms of the characterisation of personifications, it will be the first two that we are considering: character traits that were considered to be typical or ideal (or both) may be seen as a culture's tools for thinking about and describing the world around it, and this exactly describes a central purpose of personifications also. For women, the discrepancy between ideal and stereotype – how they should behave and how they were thought to behave – was arguably greater than it was for men. For example, the male image of the brave and noble hero is as prevalent in myth as its equivalent is in historical accounts. Myth may also demonstrate the stereotype of the perfect wife, as in Penelope or Alkestis, virtuous, prudent, intelligent, beautiful, submissive and loyal, but it gives a great many more examples of women who fit the stereotype of the unpredictable, out-of-control, deceitful and destructive type, in whom intelligence becomes cunning used against their menfolk, family loyalties come second to personal interests or vendettas and beauty may be used to ultimately fatal effect: Klytemnestra, Medea, Helen, Deianeira, to name but a few.

Death offers a rich source of evidence as regards personifications, since a number of different figures are employed to characterize it, depending on the identity of the deceased, the way he or she died, the personal agenda of the mourner or commentator, the purpose of the text or image, and a host of other factors. Unlike, for example, victory, for which there is one dominant figure, Nike, the ambivalence with which death is regarded, as well as the inherent impossibility of comprehending it, gives rise to a wide range of personifications. The Greeks personify not simply death, but various aspects of the processes of death and dying. Hesiod makes this clear when he lists, among the progeny of Night, Moros and Ker and Thanatos.[3] Here are three different names for death, but, as Martin West points out, 'three different words mean for Hesiod three different things.'[4] Moros is a man's appointed death; Ker, the fate which overtakes him on the battlefield, and Thanatos, the state Ker leaves you in. Or, in other words, when the Moirai see fit, Ker gets hold of you, and Thanatos is the result. The deities connected with death are legion. The Moirai also have a close relationship with Thanatos – if Moros is one's appointed death, the Moirai are the goddesses who appoint it. Thanatos' brother Hypnos is closely associated with him, and is also capable, if not of inflicting death, at least of assisting to inflict it, as in the many vase-paintings of Alkyoneus with the tiny Hypnos perched on top of him,

[3] Hes. *Th.* 211–12.

[4] West 1966, on Hes. *Th.* 211.

prisoning him in sleep until Herakles can deal with him.[5] One may also occasionally meet other personifications, such as the hideous Achlus, the mist that obscures the vision of the dying:

> By them stood Darkness of Death (Achlus), mournful and fearful, pale, shrivelled, shrunk with hunger, swollen-kneed. Long nails tipped her hands, and she dribbled at the nose, and from her cheeks blood dripped down to the ground. She stood leering hideously, and much dust sodden with tears lay upon her shoulders.[6]

She appears only once, in the *Shield of Herakles*, but most would agree that meeting her once is more than enough. And of course there are a number of other figures, gods, demigods and monsters, such as Hermes, Hades and Persephone, Charon, Eos, the Sphinx, the Gorgons, Sirens and Harpies, who fall outside of the scope of this paper but are available to exemplify various ways of making sure that one's death and subsequent afterlife in Hades should be accomplished on schedule and in the most appropriate manner possible. Given the complexity of ancient thinking about death and dying, what follows can be only a brief survey of a few aspects. I will be looking primarily at three personifications more or less closely connected with death: Thanatos, Ker and the Erinyes. I will give some examples of how gender affects interpretation both in the broader characterization of personifications and in details of specific depictions, and en route, perhaps, consider why Thanatos should be so inept at dealing out what he personifies.

In the Homeric epics, death – *thanatos* – is most fully personified in the scene where he and Hypnos bear away the body of Sarpedon. The *Iliad* rarely depicts him as malicious or even inevitable. Like an opposing warrior, one can flee him, *thanaton phuge*, or try to duck, *hupaluxai*; as Vermeule has pointed out, the strongest epithets, *dusêchês*, 'ill-sounding'; *leugaleos*, 'dismal'; *tanêlegês*, 'laying men prostrate', are often used in passages where no one actually dies.[7] Even the straightforwardly 'evil death', *thanatos kakos*, is not in at the kill.[8] Although Hesiod attributes to him a heart that is iron, bronze and pitiless, this is clearly meant to imply inexorability rather than cruelty.[9] As a personification, he represents not so much death in general, but more

[5] *LIMC* Alkyoneus 7*, 10*, 11*, 12*, etc.; Shapiro 1993, 148–55; see especially *LIMC* Alkyoneus 23°, in which Hypnos subdues Alkyoneus by holding his head down with both hands (Attic black-figure lekythos, 490–470 BC; once Hamilton Collection; Haspels 1936, 227.40bis: Sappho Painter). See also Stafford 2003 on Hypnos' divine status.

[6] Ps.-Hesiod, *Aspis* 248–70. Cf. Thanatos as a kindlier dark mist in the *Iliad*, 16.350.

[7] *thanaton phuge*, Il. 17.714; *hupaluxai*, 11.451; *dusêchês*, 16.442, 22.180; *tanêlegês*, 8.70, 22.210. See Vermeule 1979, 39.

[8] *Il.* 3.173 (Helen wishes she had died); 21.66 (Lykaon evades it – briefly – to supplicate Achilles); 22.600 (Hektor sees death nearby and resolves to die gloriously).

[9] Hes. *Th.* 764–5: *tou de sidêreê men kradiê, chalkeon de hoi êtor | nêlees en stêthessin.*

specifically the 'good death' that a hero obtains in battle. This is an aspect of death that could hardly be personified by a female. His character, insofar as he is defined by the adjectives applied to him, is that of another warrior on the battlefield. This is how Euphronios (fig. 4.1), among others, later depicted him in what is arguably the *Iliad*'s greatest paradigm of heroic death, in the famous scene of Thanatos and Hypnos bringing home the body of Sarpedon for burial, with only their wings distinguishing them from the mortals standing by.[10] Their presence here is a mark of the status of the deceased Sarpedon and the honour due to him for his heroic death and divine descent. Their hunched shoulders and small stature in comparison to the hero they are lifting, as well as their likeness to Sarpedon's comrades, gives them a surprising stamp of mortality, and heightens the pathos of Sarpedon's death. Thanatos himself, in the guise of an adult male warrior, is a reflection of the warrior who has died the 'good death', the heroic death in battle, the glorious death preferred by Achilles over a long and undistinguished life.[11] He embodies the state other than life, rather than the cause of death, and as such he represents a neutral face of death; if not precisely welcome, it is at least comprehensible and perhaps reassuring to be accompanied into death by something so near to the warrior's own experience.

The persistence of Thanatos as the heroic death is made clear by a version of the death of Talos, on two Attic kraters dating from the late fifth century. On one from Spina, Thanatos is presented as a tiny winged figure (fig. 4.2), gesturing towards the great bronze giant whose death he represents.[12] On the other, a krater found at Benevento (fig. 4.3), he goes so far as to steady Talos' ankle while Jason removes the plug that seals Talos' single vein.[13] Again, the fate of Talos is indicated by Thanatos' presence, but it is not at Thanatos' hands that he is killed. The small size of the figure, however, does not indicate ineffectiveness; instead, like the depictions of a miniature Hypnos overcoming Alkyoneus, it marks that invisibility that allows death and sleep to take their victims by surprise. In this scene, the presence of Thanatos helps to shift the viewer's sympathy to the victim. It is a curious by-product of Thanatos' characterization that he is always shown drawing sympathy to the underdog. We might compare an Apulian vase

[10] *Il.* 16.666-83; Attic red-figure calyx krater, c. 520–510 BC. New York 1972.11.10; *Add*^{2} 404 (Euphronios); *LIMC* Thanatos 3; von Bothmer 1981, 69–70, figs. 65–6; Shapiro 1993, no. 67. On other representations of the episode see von Bothmer 1981.

[11] Vernant 1991, 95.

[12] Attic red-figure krater fr., from Spina, late fifth century BC. Ferrara 3092; *ARV*^{2} 1340 (nr. Talos Painter); *LIMC* Thanatos 30, Talos I 5*; Shapiro 1993, no. 108.

[13] Attic red-figure column krater, from Montesarchio, c. 440–430 BC. Benevento, Mus. del Sannio; *LIMC* Thanatos 29; Shapiro 1993, no. 107.

showing a diminutive Thanatos, armed with a sword, swooping down at the death of Memnon; the sword here demonstrates Memnon's heroic status rather than Thanatos' active menace.[14] In Book 16 of the *Iliad*, although Sarpedon plays an important part, the narrative is not presented primarily as the story of *his* death, but as the story of *Patroklos'* death and the events leading up to it. The emphasis on Sarpedon's status is intended, at least in part, to emphasize Patroklos' even greater status. The same can be said of the death of Talos, which forms a single and fairly brief episode in the voyage of the Argonauts. Admittedly this is a small sample: only nine representations of Thanatos without Hypnos survive in Greek art.[15] This tendency of Thanatos, in art at least, to represent the lesser rather than the greater hero might perhaps be seen as part of an overall passivity, to which I will return.

In the period in which the personification of Thanatos is taking shape, the particular form of the good death which he represents is, of course, only accessible to men. The effectiveness of this personification, however, is shown by its persistence into the classical period, and particularly clearly by an unpublished lekythos (fig. 4.4) by the Bowdoin Painter, in Honolulu, in which a youth is shown apparently in active pursuit of the good death represented by the diminutive figure of Thanatos.[16] This is a good example of the problems associated with unique pieces of evidence. Jan Bazant describes this as follows: 'Young warrior (chiton, chlamys, two spears) follows with outstretched left arm Thanatos, a small winged figure'.[17] Two spears do not a warrior make, however, especially in the absence of any armour. J.D. Beazley describes the subject as a 'youth setting out', preceded by 'a sort of little angel (wings, nightgown) in silhouette, evidently made out of a

[14] Apulian volute krater, c. 430–20 BC; Taranto 140639; *RVAp* I Add. 435.12a (Painter of the Berlin Dancer); *LIMC* Eos 325*; Aellen 1994, no. 108. Aellen (1994, 163) also suggests that the sword may be for cutting the hair of the deceased, as in Eur. *Alk.* 74.

[15] *LIMC* Thanatos 26–34. Add to these three depictions in South Italian art; see Aellen 1994, nos 108–10.

[16] Attic white-ground lekythos, from Gela, fifth century BC. Hawaii, Honolulu Academy of Arts 2893; suggested by Brian Cook on a visit in 1990 to be by the Bowdoin Painter (*ARV*^{2} 677–95) (Sanna Saks Deutsch, Registrar, HAA, pers. comm.). *LIMC* Thanatos 26; Haspels 1936, 85 n. 3.

[17] Bazant 1994, 906 (cat. 26). It should be noted that the identification of the figure as Thanatos is by no means certain. John Oakley has suggested that the figure may rather be female (on the basis of the chiton and diadem that it appears to be wearing), and should perhaps be identified as an *eidolon* (John Oakley, pers. comm.; see his *Picturing Death in Classical Athens: Athenian White Lekythoi*, in press.) The diadem, however, may only be part of its hairstyle.

blot'.[18] I am inclined to agree about Thanatos' blottish origin – it can be seen that the scene as a whole is off centre, while the youth is exactly opposite the handle – but this does not invalidate the interpretation as Thanatos; we have just seen a parallel for his diminutive size, and the association of Thanatos with blackness or darkness is well established from the Homeric epics onwards.[19]

It is the Sarpedon scene which influenced Thanatos' later iconography most strongly. In the related depictions common on classical white lekythoi in which Thanatos and his brother Hypnos carry the body of the deceased (fig. 4.5), Thanatos' gender allows him to play several roles.[20] First, he is the embodiment of the dead person's fate. Secondly, by analogy with Sarpedon, he represents a commendation of the deceased's death (and, therefore, implicitly, life) and also a reassurance to his relatives that his passage into the afterlife will be eased by ensuring that his body is given the appropriate rites and mourning.[21] The result is a scene otherwise very rare in white lekythoi, the burial itself, with the two laying the body in the grave.[22] In lekythoi, however, this iconographical type is extended beyond the deceased male; the earliest surviving lekythos shows a child (the sex is difficult to determine), and there are also depictions of women. The concept of the 'good death' as a heroic war death is expanded to a broader and more inclusive concept of socially 'good death'.[23] The depiction of Death himself as a well-disposed personification who will look after the survivors' relative or friend after death is no doubt meant to be a reassuring one, even to the extent of showing Thanatos making a gesture of lament as he cradles the

[18] Quoted by Haspels 1936, 85 n.3. Beazley compares the figure to another blot made into a little 'elf' which echoes the pose of the full-size maenad next to it, on a black-figure lekythos (Palermo 1213; Haspels 1936, pl. 25.4).

[19] Vermeule 1979, 39 with 220 n.7.

[20] Attic white-ground lekythos, from Ampelokopoi, c. 450 BC. London, BM D 58; *ARV*^{2} 1228.12 (Thanatos Painter); *LIMC* Thanatos 15*; Shapiro 1993, no. 76.

[21] On the association between Hypnos, Thanatos and the 'good death' see Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 326.

[22] For the debate on whether Hypnos and Thanatos are putting the body down or picking it up in the Sarpedon scenes, see von Bothmer 1981, 73–5; in the case of white lekythoi, the iconography clearly shows that they have reached their destination (since the stele is often visible in the background) and are therefore laying the dead to rest.

[23] Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 326–7. Women: *LIMC* Thanatos 17, 22, 25; young girl: *LIMC* Thanatos 14*. See also Aellen 1994, no. 109; an Apulian fragment showing Thanatos carrying a very young child. A similar idea may underlie Aellen 1994, no. 110, on which Thanatos converses with Hermes, who shares his interest in helping the dead during their passage to the underworld.

body, on a lekythos by the Quadrate Painter (fig. 4.6).[24] Hence, too, the association with his inherently less dangerous brother. Although usually bearded and occasionally scruffy, Thanatos is not depicted as ugly in the way that (as I will show) female personifications often are; the hairiness of the classical Thanatos reflects rather that he is a tougher prospect in comparison to his brother Hypnos. There is a further social dimension to Thanatos' and Hypnos' roles as males ensuring that the dead are suitably laid to rest. Although women play an important role in the funeral, it is the responsibility of the male kin to oversee the burial and ensure the appropriate rites. On proper burial depends the soul's access to the underworld, but also, in classical Athens, the heir's access to his inheritance.[25]

In the classical period, however, Thanatos can also be characterized as the aggressor, most famously in Euripides' *Alkestis*. In the dialogue between Thanatos and Apollo, with which the play opens, he is presented as an altogether less sympathetic character than is the case in the examples considered above. He is hateful to mortals and shunned by the gods; he is the lord and priest of the dead, the hostage-taker; he gets pleasure from what is his due, especially since his victim is young; and Herakles finds him drinking up the blood of the sacrifices made at the tomb, not an attractive picture.[26] Moreover, Alkestis does not die of any particular cause – a specific illness, a wound, childbirth, etc.; she just dies. It is death itself (or himself) who is the cause of her death. Alkestis' death here is not a precursor of her descent to Hades, but identical with it. A scene on a column drum from Ephesos (fig. 4.7), now in the British Museum, may depict this myth: it shows Hermes and in front of him, probably Alkestis and in front of her, the winged Thanatos.[27] The sword that he carries is not usually part of his iconography, and may reflect his more assertive role. The same occurs in the

[24] Attic white-ground lekythos, c. 420 BC. Athens NM 1928, *ARV*² 1237.3 (Quadrate Painter). Bazant (*LIMC* Thanatos 19*) describes the deceased as a youth, 'above him an eidolon, below him a shield'; Sourvinou-Inwood considers the deceased to be a woman (1991, 326 n.105). The piece is not well preserved; I have not seen the original, and cannot decipher shield, eidolon or sex from those representations available to me. Neither Beazley nor Shapiro (1993, no. 82) commit themselves either way.

[25] Isaeus 6.40f: Euktemon died in his mistress' house; her sons tried to prevent his wife and daughter from retrieving the body, since with it would go their best hope of inheriting. See Humphreys 1980, 98.

[26] Hateful and shunned, Eur. *Alk.* 62; lord, 844; priest, 24; hostage-taker, 870–71; taking pleasure in his due, 53, 55; drinking blood, 845.

[27] Marble column drum from the Artemision, Ephesos, c. 350 BC. London, BM 1206; *LIMC* Thanatos 31*.

myth of Sisyphos, where, Pherekydes tells us, 'Zeus sent Thanatos to take him'.[28]

In both cases, Thanatos is being set up to take a fall; the reason that he himself is the agent of death is because both of these characters must live on. Thanatos will be beaten, by Sisyphos' trickery and Herakles' brute force; his failure is, in fact, essential to the plot. In the end, both Alkestis and Sisyphos survive his assault and eventually it is old age that kills them, not death – Thanatos is relegated, in effect, to his passive role again. It is interesting in this context that Thanatos can be overcome, that it is precisely when death personified acts as his own agent that the normal order of things appears to be overturned. He is, paradoxically, an unsuccessful personification, who does not effectively embody the concept that is his *raison d'être*. It is hard to think of parallels to this: Nike being defeated, Hygeia with 'flu?

One might argue that Thanatos' inability to kill stems from the specific aspect of death that he embodies: Thanatos represents death as a state of existence, rather than dying as a process, and therefore cannot kill. Emily Vermeule points out that 'death is not a power – so Hades and Thanatos are notoriously unworshipped; death is a negative, a cessation, an inversion of life, but not a physical enemy.'[29] This does not, however, stop Thanatos – or, for that matter, Hades – from taking an active role in the *Alkestis*.[30] But it should also be noted that the Greeks were not as concerned about such inconsistencies as we are. Greek eschatology is notoriously unstable. Moreover, this glimpse of a darker side to the pair finds an echo in grave epitaphs and on one white lekythos. Thanatos appears in epitaphs occasionally in unpersonified form, as an adjunct to Moira or one's *telos* or a simple abstract noun rather than on his own account.[31] Hades, however, continues his proactive role, albeit rarely; he appears in a similar Thanatos-like form as in the *Alkestis*, wrapping dark wings around the dead or snatching them away.[32] The effect, in the women's epitaphs, is perhaps similar to the much quoted 'bride of death' motif in Sophocles' *Antigone*, with death presented as abduction rather than marriage.[33] The limb-

[28] Pherekydes: *FGrHist* 3 F 119; see also brief mentions of his death-defying in Alkaios fr. 38 LP; Theognis 702–12. Only the titles of two lost plays by Aeschylus survive, *Sisyphos Drapetes* and *Sisyphos Petrokylistes* (possibly the same play; see Mette 1963, 170–72); fr. 275 Radt.

[29] Vermeule 1979, 37. But cf. Plut. *Kleomenes* 9 for a possible cult of Thanatos at Sparta; also Paus. 3.18.1.

[30] Hades: Eur. *Alk.* 225 (bloodthirsty); 259–62 (dark-browed and winged, he leads Alkestis away. The distinction between winged Thanatos and usually wingless Hades is rather blurred here; see Dale 1961, 72); 268 (stands near); 900 (holds Alkestis).

[31] E.g. *thanatou moiran*, *IG* XII 9.286.

[32] *EG* 89.4 (wings); *SEG* 2.615 (Hades abducted Kore, 'and took your beauty also').

[33] Soph. *Ant.* 801–16, 892, 1205, etc.

loosening effect shared by love, sleep and death has been well documented, and their iconography, as male youths, winged and naked, is notably similar; their affinity is attractively demonstrated on one white funerary lekythos on which women are depicted with Eros at a tomb.[34] In the same way that scenes of Eos abducting youths add a hint of death to the eroticism, so Thanatos' association with Eros – which Emily Vermeule aptly terms 'the pornography of death' – already visible as a gentle undertone in the burial scenes, can be seen as a rather more brutal act in the *Alkestis* and grave epigrams. This aggressiveness is borne out on the Group R lekythos in Paris, in which Thanatos, bearded and scruffy, moves towards a fleeing woman (fig. 4.8).[35] His violence is all the more striking in the context of white lekythoi, whose iconography is usually quiet and composed in tone. Hermes sits further around the pot, showing a sublime lack of concern about the woman's fate. This Thanatos, like the arrogant and unattractive figure in the *Alkestis*, shows a darker side of Death, perhaps reserved, at least in the classical period, largely for women. One would be interested to know how sympathetically or otherwise Thanatos was depicted in Aeschylus' lost Sisyphos plays. We can perhaps see here, as Thanatos moves from abstract noun to personification, and then gains in complexity, the gender stereotype becoming less apparent as contradictory elements find their way in.

The Greek habit of thinking in opposed pairs is well known. We have seen Thanatos depicted as the civilized, primarily male, good death. The association of the female element with the irrational, the wild, the uncivilized and, in general, the potential for creating chaos and upsetting the social order, is also well documented.[36] In the distinct characters of the different personifications embodying death, this type of opposition is clearly visible.

In direct opposition to the lack of agency implicit in the depiction of Thanatos, the *agents* of death in the Homeric epics are the Keres. The name 'ker' is attached to two different but related things. First, the word means one's allotted portion of death, *Todeslos*, and in this sense it appears in the *kerostasia*, where the allotted deaths of (in art) Achilles and Memnon (or in the *Iliad*, Achilles and Hektor) are weighed in the balance. The second type

[34] Vermeule 1979, 145–78. Attic white-ground lekythos, fifth century BC. Boston, MFA 03.801; *LIMC* Eros 964; Vermeule 1979, 178 fig. 29.

[35] Attic white-ground lekythos, c. 430 BC. Paris, Louvre CA1264; *ARV*[2] 1384.19 (Group R); *LIMC* Thanatos 27*; Shapiro 1993, no. 109. Garland 1985, 59 describes this as 'a rare example of a pre-emptive strike by a chthonic deity against a helpless victim'.

[36] E.g. Reeder 1995, 25–6 and *passim*. This is not solely confined to the Greeks; as noted by Yaguello (1978, 106), the dichotomy male/female, active/passive, reason/heart, order/disorder, rational/irrational, etc., governs the vision of the modern West also, and pairs of grammatically masculine-feminine antonyms fitting this dichotomy are to be commonly found.

of ker is the one that interests us here, the black, hateful, destructive – and female – Keres, personifications of doom occasionally linked to death as *keres thanatoio*.[37] They are more strongly personified, memorably so on the Shield of Achilles, where the warrior may encounter 'Ker the destructive' as she squabbles over bodies with Eris and Kudoimos:

> ... she was holding a live man with a new wound, and another
> one unhurt, and dragged a dead man by the feet through the carnage.
> The clothing on her shoulders showed strong red with the men's blood.[38]

She is also more terrifying because more personal – everyone has one, as her namesake's role in the *kerostasia* makes clear – and less easy to escape. 'The frightening Ker who got me by lot when I was born has opened her jaws around me', says Patroklos; a more terrifying image than any applied to Thanatos, and horribly reminiscent of that worst of fates, to have one's body left to be torn by the birds and dogs.[39] Unlike Thanatos, Ker is not personified off the battlefield. And unlike Thanatos, Ker is capable of killing you. If Thanatos is the acceptable, 'tame' face of death, or the peacefulness of the body after death, Ker represents all the terror and unpredictability of the moment of dying, or more precisely, of being killed. The two most important characteristics informing the depiction of the female Death are power and unpredictability: the irresistable force of women in myth, and their tendency to act in unexpected and, for the men affected by their actions, unthinkable ways. Ker's portable larder of bodies both dead and alive reflects another less than complimentary female trait, greed. As Ellen Reeder notes, women were 'viewed as insatiable, unable to control any physical craving at all ... Woman as a voracious force is a pervasive image in Greek myth.'[40] Moreover, mythical figures such as Klytemnestra and Medea, not to mention the Bacchae, remind us that a degree of bloodthirstiness is also not unknown as a female trait. Woman's insatiability is found more often in the context of sex than death; but here the two are linked. For eroticism plays a role here too. As noted above, metaphors and imagery linking sex and death are common, as for example Euripides' description of the Keres as the brides of the dead: 'a changing Fortune has given you Keres as your brides.'[41]

---

[37] E.g. *Il.* 11.332. Ker (as death-spirit rather than *Todeslos*) and Thanatos are linked nine times in the *Iliad*; see Vermeule 1979, 220 n.66 for a list of citations.

[38] *Il.* 18.535–40 (trans. R. Lattimore, Chicago 1951).

[39] *Il.* 23.78–9.

[40] Reeder 1995, 25.

[41] Eur. *Her.* 480–81 (trans. S.A. Barlow, Warminster 1996); see also Bond 1988, 188 (comm. *ad loc.*).

Ker does not survive as a power into the classical period; as an independent identity she lasts at the latest until the time of Aeschylus. Images of Ker, outside of the *kerostasia* scene, are accordingly scarce. There is one certain example: the depiction of Polyneikes, Eteokles and Ker shown on the lost Chest of Kypselos.[42] Pausanias describes her as 'a woman with teeth as cruel as those of a beast, and her fingernails are bent like talons'. The teeth, at least, might remind us of the gaping jaws of Patroklos' Ker. The apparent reference to fangs and claws here has led to the interpretation of a number of images of lion-women and sphinxes as depictions of Ker;[43] and certainly the series of images of sphinxes preying (apparently in both senses of the word) on young men (fig. 4.9), with their combination of fatality and eroticism, show a strong resemblance to her character, whether they actually depict the deity or not.[44]

With Ker's gradual slide into insignificance, her role as aggressor, as agent of death, and as the individual's fated death, is spread between various other deities. There is already some crossover in the *Theogony*, where Hesiod describes the Keres as *nêleopoinoi*, 'punishing ruthlessly', 'who prosecute the transgressions of men and gods – never do the goddesses cease from their terrible wrath until they have paid the sinner his due.'[45] Here, as West points out, they take on the functions more usually ascribed to the Erinyes.[46] Aeschylus, indeed, conflates them, describing them as *Kêres Erinues*, though a clearer distinction between them develops rapidly in the fifth century, with the Erinyes gaining the upper hand.[47] Unlike Ker, the Erinyes do not always punish with death. Their association with Hekate and the underworld, however, is testified to not only in literature and cult but also in art, as for example on a lekythos showing two Erinyes standing on either side of Hekate; Hekate's lower body is formed of dogs, one of which is consuming the dead (fig. 4.10).[48] They can not always be classified as personifications. They are not so much personifications of their victim's death (death is only one of their punishments) as of his or her own guilt. E.H. Gombrich's

[42] Paus. 5.19.6; see W. von Massow's reconstruction drawing, Fig. 190a/b in Schefold 1993, 190–91.

[43] See Hampe 1960, 62–7 and 84–5. Volkommer (1992, 22) argues convincingly that none of the various images identified, except for the *kerostasia* images and that on the Chest of Kypselos, actually show Ker.

[44] Attic red-figure lekythos, c. 470 BC. Kiel, Kunsthalle B553; *LIMC* Sphinx 178*.

[45] Hes. *Th.* 217–22, accepting West's athetization of vv. 218f (trans. M.L. West, Oxford 1998).

[46] Vengeance for murdered kin is already the province of the Erinyes in *Il.* 9.529–99; see Johnston 1999, 141; Gantz 1993, 329; Padel 1992, 164–7.

[47] Aes. *Sept.* 1055.

[48] Attic black-figure lekythos, c. 470 BC. Athens, NM 19765; Beldam Painter; *LIMC* Erinys 7*. See also Padel 1992, 166–8.

description of personifications as a 'twilight zone between mythology and metaphor' seems apposite here.[49] For those who, swearing an oath, invoke them as punishers of oath-breakers, they are, as Walter Burkert states, 'simply an embodiment of the act of self-cursing contained in the oath'.[50] In art their primary attribute is the snake, which not only signifies their connection with the underworld but is also appropriate as a sacred animal that may turn and bite you if not treated with proper respect, like the oath itself. On a lekythos by the Bowdoin Painter (fig. 4.11), the inscription reads 'ESTHETON', 'devour' in the dual, directed by the Erinys at her two snakes; the command reflects the fate of whatever unfortunate happens to cross her, and is reminiscent of Ker's gaping jaws.[51] The Erinyes are, of course, the avengers of the dead *par excellence*; they dwell in the underworld, and at various points are described as dragging their prey back into it.[52] Like the Keres, they are associated with violent death, though in the sense they are 'cried forth' by it, rather more than in the sense that they can cause it.[53] Accordingly, they do not exhibit the claws and teeth. Instead, they are modelled on the *parthenos*, exhibiting both the good and bad sides of her character. In art, they are shown as young women – a sort of default setting for personifications, as neither Homer nor Hesiod actually offers any description of them – and very rarely given any of the repulsive characteristics bestowed upon them by Aeschylus. The Erinyes specialize in kin-strife, punishing crimes within the family and actions (such as adultery) that may potentially create intrafamilial divisions. In this way they adopt women's role of tending the continuity and stability of the *oikos*. Sarah Iles Johnston, in a recent study of the Erinyes, notes that their paradigmatic virginity places them in an ideal situation to monitor internal family strife: 'they are the daughters that will not leave the self-contained family unit in its simplest form.'[54] Also, however, like the *parthenos*, they are potentially disruptive, and if things go wrong they may destroy the household that it is their duty to support. Both myth and medicine saw *parthenoi* as a group at risk of madness and suicide; in the Erinyes, this self-destructiveness is displaced onto their victims.[55] The contrast between their role and character

[49] Gombrich 1971, 252. Cf. Murray *infra* p.147.

[50] Oath at *Iliad* 3.278f, 19.260; invokes 'those who beneath the earth punish dead men, whoever has sworn a false oath', i.e., the Erinyes; Burkert 1985, 198.

[51] Attic white-ground lekythos, from Sicily, 460–450 BC. Basle Lu60 (formerly Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum ZA1); Bowdoin Painter; *LIMC* Erinys 1*.

[52] Aes. *Eum.* 245; Eur. *Or.* 255–6.

[53] Aes. *Choe.* 400–04; cf. Hes. *Th.* 570–75.

[54] Johnston 1999, 255.

[55] [Hippocrates] *On Virgins* 5–12: '[The visions] order her to jump up and throw herself into wells and to drown, as if this were good for her and served some useful purpose. When a girl

and that of Thanatos is nicely demonstrated on a kantharos in the British Museum by the Amphitrite Painter (fig. 4.12), on which Ixion is shown having just killed his kinsman.[56] Thanatos attends to the dead body, while the Erinys, evoked by the snake, deal with the living on behalf of the dead.

Christian Aellen, in discussing the question as to whether the Erinyes can in fact be termed personifications, suggests that, as represented in South Italian vase-painting, they can represent the hero's state of mind, and in such a case may fairly be called personifications of the hero's guilt, or the curse taken root in his mind – although, as he emphasizes, the boundaries are far from clear.[57] A particularly striking example (fig. 4.13) is that of the Fury holding up a mirror to reflect to Orestes – not his own face, but his mother's face, as reflected, Aellen suggests, in his own soul, in his bad conscience.[58] The mirror is a common female attribute in art; it usually represents beauty, for example in the hands of Klytemnestra's sister Helen. Here it is placed in the hand of a female who is not known for beauty, and used to reflect the ugliness of Orestes' own soul – paradoxically shown in the form of the beautiful Klytemnestra! Here is a detail of women's world that the artist has used to telling effect. Also, if taken literally, it is an effective illustration of that displacement of one's identity that underlies the Erinyes' preferred weapon: to look into a mirror and see one's victim instead of oneself must count as the very essence of madness. Inflicting insanity is their preferred punishment and one they use to great effect.[59] It is also particularly appropriate in that they represent the dead, who, in the form of ghosts, work through mental disturbance rather than physical contact.[60]

The strength of these personifications is reflected in the Roman figure of Mors. She is not as fully characterized as any of the Greek beings considered above, but she does have a certain amount of life of her own. Horace describes her as 'pallida Mors' – 'pale Death' – who 'kicks with an impartial foot at the hovels of the poor and the towers of kings'.[61] Nisbet and Hubbard

---

does not have visions, a desire sets in which compels her to love death as if it were a form of good ... .' See King 1993, Johnson 1999, 226–8 and *passim*.

[56] Attic red-figure kantharos, c. 450 BC. London, BM E 155; *ARV*^{2} 832.37 (Amphitrite Painter); *LIMC* Thanatos 28*; Shapiro 1993, no. 106.

[57] Aellen 1994, 82–90.

[58] Lucanian red-figure nestoris, 380–360 BC. Naples, Mus. Naz. 82124 (H1984); *LCS* 113.588: Brooklyn-Budapest Painter; *LIMC* 68*.

[59] Padel 192, 175–9; Johnston 1999, 144. It is not, however, their only weapon, though from Aeschylus' *Oresteia* onwards, it becomes their primary one. In Homer they are associated once with sterility (*Il.* 9.454; cf. 493–4); twice with madness (*Il.* 19.87; *Od.* 15.234); and once with death, though not immediately (*Il.* 9.569–72, where the death of Meleager is clearly implied although it does not eventuate within the narrative); see Johnston 1999, 141.

[60] Johnston 1999, 145 with n.65.

[61] Hor. *Carm.* 1.4.13–14.

comment that 'the personification is Greek', referring the reader to the Thanatos of the *Alkestis* – and certainly the display of impatience expressed by Mors kicking her way in is more characteristic of that Thanatos than of the more usual and more passive deity.[62] But there is a crucial difference: Mors is coming to collect the living; she is actively bashing her way in and Horace clearly does not envisage her having to give back what she has taken. This impatience is echoed elsewhere in Roman sources; Tibullus wishes for black Death to withhold her grasping hand, *abstineas avidas Mors modo nigra manu*, and Seneca describes her as *Mors avidis pallida dentibus*, 'pale Death with greedy teeth'.[63] She has, in fact, a closer affiliation with the Greek female death figures, as is borne out elsewhere; she is often characterized as pale, she is grasping and insatiable, and in Seneca's description, we have surely seen those 'greedy teeth' before.

The remarkably aggressive behaviour of Somnus in *Aeneid* 5 highlights the differences between the Greek and Roman personifications.[64] The fact that it is Somnus rather than Mors (or anyone else) who tips Palinurus over the rail of the ship presumably owes its origin to Homeric 'double motivation': the god acts to destroy the man, but the passage may also be explained in human terms as Palinurus dozing off and falling into the sea, waking up just too late to save himself. None the less, there is no sign that Hypnos ever does anything so decisive; the most he does is to hold characters – particularly giants such as Alkyoneus and Argos – in sleep so that others can kill them. In this context he might, perhaps, be described as more fatal than Thanatos: he acts effectively to bring about death, which is more than can be said for his brother.

Marina Warner points out a common pattern in romance languages of masculine agent nouns and feminine nouns describing effects or the results of action.[65] For example, from the Latin verb *ago*, to act, are derived the masculine noun *actor*, actor, that which does things, and the feminine noun *actio*, action, that which is done. Or again, Greek *aeidô* gives us *ho aeidos* and *hê aeidê* – the masculine singer and the feminine song. But there are, as she points out, plenty of exceptions, and these seem to be rife in the area of death and dying. It is rather more common here to find the feminine agent and masculine action, whether in linked pairs – the Moirai act to bring about Moros the result – or individually – the Keres active, Thanatos the result.[66]

[62] Nisbet and Hubbard 1970, *ad loc.*

[63] Tib. 1.3.3; Sen. *HF* 555.

[64] Verg. *Aen.* 5.835–61.

[65] Warner 1985, 68.

[66] This pattern does not always hold true; at Hes. *Th.* 211–17, the Moirai, Moros, the Keres and Thanatos are all found in close proximity to each other – but so are the passive (to judge by context) female Ker and the active male Hypnos (though the latter is only tangentially

This is, to some degree, the logical consequence of the more formidable character of the female type.

The process of attributing stereotypes that I have followed may seem somewhat arbitrary: personifications may be developed in different ways, depending on which stereotype seems appropriate. So for example, the favourable female depiction known as Death the Bride (fig. 4.14), here in a painting by Thomas Cooper Gotch from 1895,[67] seductive and beautiful and popular at various points in later Western art and thought, is one that never really takes root in the Greek mentality, although the ingredients for it are present in Greek thought: the bride's desirability, its link with death, the mystery of the veiled face, even the details such as the association of poppies and of the colour black with death. The Greek fusion of female eroticism and fatality occurs instead in a rather harsher form in figures such as the Sphinx and Eos, with their unpredictable and less tempting abductions; the wedding motif is used, unattractively, both of the terrifying Ker, and of Hades and the *parthenos*. So why is it that the Greeks do not come up with this more desirable image instead of the bloody Keres and Erinyes? It has to be said that the stereotype of the ideal woman who is, in Reeder's words, 'virtuous, modest, passive, submissive, silent and invisible', does not appear to add up to a concept of death anything like as potent as those I have already looked at. The great advantage that personifications have as a tool to think with is their ability to be moulded to fit the most useful ideologies at any given point. And both personifications and gender ideologies are useful patterns, good to think with.

It is also difficult to know where to draw the line. I would not wish to argue, for example, that any ancient Athenian looking at a lekythos that depicted Hypnos and Thanatos burying the dead would automatically be put in mind of the need to bury his father properly to make sure of his inheritance. It is only one of a range of ideas associated with the concept of proper social death, which includes proper burial, which is here represented; but the emphasis in this case must be laid more on the deceased, and on their status, than on their surviving relatives. The male gender of death is harnessed in this context to reflect the 'good death' suffered by the deceased; any other associations are secondary – though that does not mean that they did not exist.

This proliferation of characters dealing with the business of death, dying and disposal is not simply a matter of depicting the many faces of death. It is more a tendency to impose those selected characteristics of male and female

---

connected with death). Ker used in this 'resulting' sense, however, is far rarer than her active counterpart.

[67] Thomas Cooper Gotch, *Death the Bride*, Alfred East Art Gallery, Kettering, England (Kettering Heritage Collection).

stereotypes which are seen as most appropriate onto aspects of death that are grammatically masculine or feminine: surely the essence of personification. There are, of course, positive stereotypes of women as well, and negative ones of men; but they do not seem to be the ones that are reflected in death-related personifications. Yaguello states, 'if one examines those words which, in Indo-European languages, are particularly invested with symbolic and mythical value, one finds that they most frequently fall into pairs of masculine and feminine antonyms, which accord perfectly with this male/female dichotomy and thus with an interpretation couched in terms of sexual symbolism.'[68] She cites pairs such as sun and moon, water and fire, life and death. For the Greeks, as far as their personifications are concerned, life is of far less interest than death. Here, this dichotomy between male and female exists within the admittedly broad scope of a single abstraction: death and dying themselves become antonyms by virtue of their gender. Mapping gender ideologies onto personifications allows the Greeks a highly effective way of describing the complexities of both the fearful and welcoming aspects of death.

[68] Yaguello 1978, 106 (my translation).

Fig. 4.1 Hypnos and Thanatos carry off the body of Sarpedon. Attic red-figure calyx krater by Euphronios, c. 520–10BC.

Fig. 4.2 Thanatos at Talos' feet. Attic red-figure krater, fragment, late fifth century BC.

Fig. 4.3 Thanatos helps Jason kill Talos.
Attic red-figure column krater, c. 440–30BC.

Fig 4.4 Thanatos pursued by a youth.
Attic white-ground lekythos by the
Bowdoin Painter, c. 460–50 BC.

Fig. 4.5 Thanatos and Hypnos lay a body to rest. Attic white-ground lekythos by the Thanatos Painter, c. 450 BC.

Fig. 4.6 Thanatos and Hypnos lay a body to rest. Attic white-ground lekythos by the Quadrate Painter c. 420 BC.

Fig. 4.7 Thanatos and Alkestis (?).
Marble column drum from the Artemision, Ephesos, c. 350BC.

Fig. 4.8 Thanatos pursues Alkestis.
Attic white-ground lekythos of Group R, c. 430 BC.

Fig. 4.9 A sphinx carries off a youth.
Attic red-figure lekythos, c. 470 BC.

Fig. 4.10 Hekate flanked by Erinyes. Attic black-figure lekythos by the Beldam Painter, c. 470 BC.

Fig. 4.11 An Erinys with her snakes. Attic white-ground lekythos by the Bowdoin Painter, c. 460–50 BC.

Fig. 4.12 Thanatos attends Ixion's victim. Attic red-figure kantharos by the Amphitrite Painter, c. 450 BC.

Fig. 4.13 Orestes and two Erinyes. Lucanian red-figure nestoris by the Brooklyn-Budapest Painter, c. 380 BC.

Fig. 4.14 Thomas Cooper Gotch, *Death the Bride*, 1895.

5

The Greek heroes as a 'personification' of the past in the present*

Kerasia Stratiki

The group of cult practices dedicated to the different divinities of ancient Greece constitute a very complex category; these practices are organized around a given system and grouped according to rules and exceptions in accordance with the expressions of a polytheistic culture. This cultural plurality concerns not only ritual practices but also the types of divinities which were honoured by the Greeks. In this paper I approach a category usually called heroes, and the common cult practices which were dedicated to them in their sanctuaries. As suggested by my title, I attribute to certain heroes the term 'personified presences' because of their role in embodying the past in various ways for particular communities. My study focuses on the ten books of Pausanias' *Description of Greece*, because this work presents the widest range of cults in ancient Greek places, and reflects Pausanias' particular interest in local cults and myths, historic memories and religious traditions; the late character of the work and the polysemy of the cultural terms in question should be kept in mind.[1]

It may be useful to begin with a brief review of the characteristics of heroic cult in ancient Greece, under three headings.[2]

*For this first publication of a piece of my work, I would like to thank E. Stafford and J. Herrin, as well as the director of my PhD at the University of Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV) J.-J. Maffre, for their availability every time I needed them.

[1] Frazer 1913; Veyne 1983, 105–112; Bingen 1996 ; see also Stratiki 2002.

[2] In the comparative study of heroic cult I have been helped by, among others, Foucart 1918, Farnell 1921, Delcourt 1942, Nock 1944, Rohde 1952, 92–167, Brelich 1958, Rudhardt 1958, Casabona 1966, Coldstream 1976, 8–17, Burkert 1977, Snodgrass 1982, Polignac 1984, Malkin 1987, Larson 1995, Antonaccio 1995 and especially Hägg (ed.) 1999, Pirenne-Delforge and Suarez de la Torre (eds) 2000.

From *Personification In The Greek World: From Antiquity To Byzantium*, eds Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Copyright © 2005 by Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Published by Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, UK.

i) 'What is a hero?' For the Greeks, a hero is a man who became a 'hero' only after his death; however, he continued to have an effect on the living world around the place of his burial. The principal representatives of heroes are men whose life legend or history places them in a distant past, and who had an important place in history – the ancestor, the founder, the protector; those who symbolize local identity – although it is worth underlining that, in a polytheistic culture, there are always conspicuous exceptions to the emphasis on the hero's death and to the rules of hero cult.

ii) 'What is a hero cult?' For religion, a hero is firstly a dead man.[3] A grave is the usual place of his cult and a heroic sanctuary houses his relics.[4] Likewise there are cenotaphs, which may still preserve a hero's memory.[5] At this point we have to add that heroic ritual often resembles funerary ritual.[6] The great difference between a heroic cult and a funeral cult is that the former is repeated over the years. If we focus on the text of Pausanias, we will see that the Greeks honoured their heroes with almost every type of sacrifice. There are ritual differences between regions, especially when we are referring to a local cult, but all of them have a common point: heroes are honoured at their graves.

iii) 'Where were the heroes honoured?' The ordinary dead had his grave in cemeteries situated outside the city, but heroes' graves and sanctuaries (*herôa*) could be almost anywhere.[7] Heroes had their graves in the city and as near as possible to the territory of the city.[8] The sanctuaries of the gods, in or out of the city, often included the graves of heroes who had some association with the myth or the cult of these particular gods.[9] All the places which were important for the activities of the legendary heroes or the heroized dead could be suitable for the location of a heroic grave. Heroes had a particular relationship with their graves, since their power was manifested especially at the place where their mortal remains were. The inhabitants of a region had to honour them with sacrifices (*enagismoi*, *thysiai*, etc.), libations (*choai*, *spondai*) or athletic competitions (*agônes*) in order to satisfy them and profit from their help.

---

[3] Pind., *Pythian* 5.126–27.

[4] Hdt 5.47; Paus. 4.32.3.

[5] Paus. 6.23.3.

[6] *Sphagia*: Eur., *Helen* 1564 (funeral ritual); Plut., *Solon* 9.1 (heroic ritual). *Enagizein*: Scholia on Eur., *Phoenissae* 274 (the dead); Hdt 1.167 and Paus. 7. 19.10 (heroes). See also Scholia on Homer, *Il.* 1.459.

[7] For burial customs see Kurtz and Boardman 1971.

[8] Hdt 5.89.3; Paus. 2.3.6 and 5.4.4.

[9] Pyrrhus: Paus. 1.5.4. See also Grimal 1969, 312–13; Detienne and Svenbro 1979, 236; Nagy 1979, 118–41; Suarez de la Torre 1997, 153–76.

At the outset I have to admit that, although I do not think that the religious consciousness of the Greeks had distinct categories for types of heroes, I shall use a kind of technical classification to help us understand the heroic cult of 'presences' which personified the values which they represented. The heroic types that I shall study are the following: kings, founders (*oikistai-archegetai*), and warriors. To keep the study within the scope of this paper, I shall examine two representative heroes of each heroic type as recorded by Pausanias. These 'presences' were real persons whose life belongs to history, although there are cases where the physical existence of such a hero cannot be verified. In either case, though, they represented local history and personified local identity, as memorials of a glorious past and as protectors of the present.

Hero kings and personification

Our survey begins with the hero kings recorded by Pausanias' records, looking at the particular examples of Erechtheus and Pelops.[10] Athens was Pausanias' first stop, and he was probably there about AD 145. The inhabitants of Attica usually honoured their heroes with annual sacrifices of the two most frequent types, *thysiai* and *enagismoi*. One of the most important heroes of the city was Erechtheus or Erichthonius, who was born of the Attic earth, fertilized for Athena by Hephaestus.[11] He was supposed to have been born, through the mediation of Earth, during the age of Cecrops,[12] and, according to Herodotus,[13] the inhabitants of Attica took the name 'Athenians' during Erechtheus' reign. With this hero started the long line of the kings of Athens.

The myth of Erechtheus permitted the Athenians to understand the origin of their city and its name.[14] He was the autochthonous ancestor of all Athenians,[15] so the latter honoured him with sacrifices (*thysiai*) in the Erechtheion, situated on the Acropolis, which was the central point of many heroic and divine cults.[16] The most important cult figure of the temple was Athena, represented by an ancient wooden statue, but other gods and heroes had also altars and graves there. In front of the entrance, there was an altar dedicated to Zeus Hypatus, where the Athenians did not sacrifice (*thyein*) living beings or offer wine, but offered sweet pastries. Erichthonius (son of

[10] Cf. Pausanias' accounts of Augeus (5.4.2), Theseus (10.11.6), etc.

[11] Apollodorus 3.14.6; Paus. 1.14.6.

[12] Apollodorus 3.14.6; Paus. 1.18.2.

[13] Hdt 8.44.

[14] Loraux 1990, 27–72 ; Loraux 1996, 51–3.

[15] Homer, *Il.* 2.545–6; Hdt 8.44. Application of the term 'Erechtheides' in poetic language: Pind., *Isthmian* 2.19; *Pythian* 7.10; Soph., *Ajax* 201; *Antigone* 981–2; Eur., *Ion* 20–21.

[16] The Acropolis was also called by the Athenians the *polis*: Thuc. 2.15.6; Paus. 1.26.6.

the Attic land and Hephaestus)-Erechtheus (ancient king of Athens) shared an altar with Poseidon. Boutis, the brother of Erechtheus and eponymous hero of the Boutades tribe, also had his own altar. A third one was dedicated to Hephaestus, Pandrosus had her temple very close to it and Cecrops[17] was buried under the Erechtheion.[18] The latter was another autochthonous being, half-man, half-snake; he was king of Athens before the foundation of the city. He was considered a founding hero, as he was, according to myth, the founder of the monarchy in Athens. In addition Cecrops, like Erechtheus, was one of the ten heroes whose names were adopted for the ten Attic tribes created by Cleisthenes in the late sixth century, whose statues stood in the *agora* from the fourth century, grouped together on the monument of the Eponymous Heroes.[19]

I have not chosen the case of Erechtheus as the first king of Athens at random: Erechtheus, half-man, half-snake, was a mythical figure. His myth symbolized the autochthonous origin of Athenians on their land.[20] His cult was a central one for the city, honouring him not only as a protector hero, but also as the ancient hero who reminded the Athenians and other Greeks that the first Athenian kings were born of the Attic land. Because of their first ancestors, Athenians always had a particuliar relationship with their land; this land belonged by right to them and their descendants. They had personified their autochthony in the form of Erechtheus or Cecrops in a unique way: half-men, half-snakes, they were symbols of their local identity.

Another interesting example of heroic cult in honour of a king is the case of Pelops, king of Pisa, who was honoured by the inhabitants more than the other heroes of Olympia. Pausanias gives a detailed description of the Pelopeion, which was situated in the Altis of Olympia.[21] The *temenos* contained statues, trees and a *bothros* (pit), and its entrance was situated to the west. The author thought that the cult of Pelops was very ancient and that it was established when Heracles had sacrificed at the *bothros*. The annual sacrifice in honour of Pelops was the sacrifice of a black ram; heroes were often honoured with sacrifices of black victims, of which the blood was shed in a *bothros*.[22] Heroic sacrifices were often performed after sunset:[23] is there any relationship between this custom and the construction of the entrance of the Pelopeion to the west? The text tells us that there was a

[17] Paus. 1.5.3; Strabo 9.397; Apollodorus 3.14; 3.177.

[18] Paus. 1.26.5.

[19] Demosthenes, *Epitaphios* 27–31; Paus. 1.5.1–2.

[20] For autochthony in Athens, see also Shapiro 1998, 127–51.

[21] Paus. 5.13.1–3.

[22] Homer, *Il.* 3.103; *Od.* 10.517 and 524-527; Scholia on Eur., *Phoenissae* 274.

[23] Scholia on Apollonius Rhodius 1.587; Paus. 2.11.7; 8.14.11.

sacrificial banquet with the consumption of meat. But we should rather focus our attention on the personality of Pelops.

Pelops, son of Tantalus, was a native of Asia Minor. According to the tradition, when Pelops arrived in the Peloponnese, he won a wife and a kingdom (Pausanias mentions this myth in the description of the grave of Hippodameia's suitors).[24] The name of Pelops was associated with the foundation of the Olympic Games; according to one tradition, he was the first to celebrate them. Later, the Games lost their prestige and Heracles renewed them in the honour of Pelops. The Olympic Games were also considered as funeral games devoted to the memory of Pelops.[25] But Pindar and Pausanias give different versions: for Pindar, the Games were born the day of Pelops' victory over Oinomaos during the race which ended with Oinomaus' death.[26] Pausanias' Elean informants reported the origin of the festival to be in distant antiquity, and they said that Pelops had celebrated the Games in honour of Olympian Zeus with much more splendour than all those which preceded.[27] The funeral-games theory was discounted by Elean tradition. Indeed, Pausanias calls the Pelopeion a *temenos* and not a grave. Moreover, the Games were celebrated every four years, whereas the *thysiai* for the hero in the Pelopeion were annual.

So, Pelops was a heroized king of Pisa in Olympia, who was connected with an important event of the region, the Olympic Games. After bringing peace to the region by winning over Oinomaos, he became king of Pisa and continued the local tradition. He became a local hero (in spite of his strange origin) and he was honoured annually by the inhabitants in his *temenos* in Olympia's Altis. The location of his *temenos* tells us how important he was to the region; he was a personality who symbolized the history and tradition of the particular locality.

Hero founders and personification

Heroes who were founders (*oikistai* or *archegetai*) of a *polis* were also symbols of local identity, such as Arcas, the eponymous hero of Arcadia, and the founder of Tronis.[28] According to Pausanias,[29] Delphi ordered the Arcadians to carry Arcas' corpse from Maenalus to Mantinea, his favourite city, dedicated to him a *temenos* and offered sacrifices (*thyelai*); they had to honour

[24] Paus. 5.10.6-7; 6.21.9–11.

[25] For this theory, see Harrison 1927, 212–16.

[26] Pins., *Olympian* 1.

[27] Paus. 5.8.2.

[28] Cf. Pausanias accounts of Phoroneus (2.20.3), Theras (3.1.8), Patreus (7.20.9) and Pionis (9.18.4). For the case of Athens see Lévêque and Vidal-Naquet 1964, 118–21, Parker 1996, 102–51.

[29] Paus. 8.9.4.

the hero who was identified with their history, their name and their country. This can be paralleled by other cases of the transferal of heroic bones. Heroes were associated with their graves, which were an expression of their power, and from where they would help the inhabitants of their region.[30] Heroes buried in a foreign land could not advise or help the citizens when they were called upon, so when their corpses were buried far from native land, they had to be transferred to it. The Spartans famously consulted the Delphic oracle about fetching the bones of Orestes, who was buried in Tegea, after the conquest of Arcadia.[31] The Athenians fetched the bones of Theseus, who was buried in Skyros, and created ritual celebrations in honour of their national hero, who symbolized Athenian democracy.[32]

The prosperity of hero cults was tied to local development and the notion of the 'state'. Often religious traditions were reconsidered due to political necessity. The most interesting example in Pausanias' work concerning the establishment of a heroic cult for an *archegetes*-hero is the case of Archegetes at Tronis in Phocis. For certain people, this hero was called Xanthippus, while for others his name was Phocus. People turned to their ancestors, but often they did not have a particular name, and so one had to be assigned. They chose a name tied to their history and their eponymy.[33] In the case of Tronis, Phocus was adopted for Phocis as a name or Xanthippus, a famous warrior of the region.[34]

Again, I have not chosen these two examples of founder heroes at random: both of them symbolized local identity. For the inhabitants, they were a 'personification' of their origins and their local history. In the case of the Archegetes of Tronis, the establishment of the heroic cult is obvious: because the inhabitants needed a national hero, they created one. The name was not so important: he was either their eponymous hero (Phocus), or a legendary warrior of their local history (Xanthippus).

Warrior heroes and personification

Warrior heroes were the 'personification' of a glorious past and good examples for the future, such as Aristomenes and the men of Oresthasion.[35] Aristomenes, warrior-symbol of battles of the Messenians against the Spartans, was honored with *enagismata* and libations (*spondai*) at his grave.[36]

[30] Paus. 1.17.5; Paus. 4.32.3–4.

[31] Paus. 3.36.8.

[32] Paus. 9.18.5; on the cult of Theseus, see Calame 1996.

[33] For eponymous heroes and personification, see Aellen 1994, 104 and 146–47. On personification in Greek art, see also Shapiro 1993.

[34] Paus. 10.4.10.

[35] Cf. Pausanias on Achilles (3.20.8).

[36] Paus. 4.32.3

As in the examples considered above, his bones were carried from Rhodes, on Apollo's order, and buried in the *gymnasion* of Messene, a special place for the social life of the city. Even if Aristomenes was once a historical person, over time he became not only a brave warrior who was heroized by the Messenians because of his service to his country, but also the 'personification' of the idea of fighting for liberty and independence.

Our second example of warrior heroes is the case of the Oresthasians who were honoured by the inhabitants at their grave (*polyandrion*) situated in the *agora* of Phigalia in Arcadia. According to Pausanias, the Phigalians honoured the brave Oresthasians with *enagismoi* down to his own time, because the latter had died voluntarily in helping the Phigalians in their fight against the Spartans.[37] As we have already mentioned, in Greece the graves of the ordinary dead were outside the cities, in accessible regions, in order for them to be honoured by the citizens. But the brave dead were buried in the city, and especially in the *agora*. These dead, often honoured as heroes, were considered protectors of the city: they helped the city in danger and they used to participate in battle. The heroes were strongly tied to the earth where they were buried. As for the cities, they had need of the help of heroes and consequently honoured them as was suitable. As we have already seen in the case of Aristomenes, warrior heroes personified not only local history but also generosity and self-sacrifice for one's country. The case of the Oresthasians is very interesting because it is an example of warriors who were honoured by the inhabitants of another city, as the Phigalians were. The Oresthasians helped the Phigalians and the latter honoured their generosity by constructing for them a *polyandrion*[38] in the centre of their city, in the *agora*. I would like to suggest that the Phigalians honoured the Oresthasians by making them a piece of their local history or by making them a 'personification' of local history.

Conclusion

Following this classification of different nuances of 'heroic personification' through the ten books of Pausanias, I conclude by emphasizing that the scope of this paper is limited: here I have had to give a typical representative of each heroic type associated with our study of heroes as 'personifications' in Pausanias. The two examples of the cult of Erechtheus in Athens and of Pelops in Olympia, as recorded by Pausanias, are representative of the Greeks' conception of heroized kings; they symbolize local identity and the tradition of a particular region. The examples of the cult of Arcas in Arcadia

[37] Paus. 8.39.3–5 and 41.1.

[38] For common graves of warriors, see also Paus. 1.32.3; 1.32.4 (Marathon); Hdt 9.85; Paus. 9.2.5–7 (Plateia); the cult of these last dead is reported by Thucydides (3.58).

and of the Archegete in Tronis, as recorded by Pausanias, are representative of the Greeks' conception of heroized founders: they symbolized the origins of a particular region as well as local identity. And finally the examples of Aristomenes in Messenia and the Oresthasians in Phigalia, as recorded by Pausanias, are representative of the Greeks' conception of heroized warriors; they became symbols of generosity and self-sacrifice for one's country. In order to have a complete idea of 'heroic personification' in Greece, we would have to make a comparative study between ancient texts, inscriptions and archaeological evidence.

Generally, heroes were the exceptional dead enjoying local cults at their graves. Through heroic cult the Greeks honoured distant ancestors who had their identity in a legendary time. In a similar manner, they honoured persons whose life belongs to history, such as kings, ancestors of a race or of a family, first occupants of a territory, founders of a city or a colony and legendary warriors. Nevertheless, there are cases in which the physical existence of a hero cannot be verified. I propose that, in certain cases, the heroic entity has been invented as a 'personification' of the values that it is used to represent. The glory of the hero rebounded on the descendants; the hero represented a model which they tried to imitate; interaction between religion and politics is evident in the establishment of the heroic cult. For the Greeks, heroes were intermediate beings between the human and the divine. But even if heroes did not lose their human hypostasis, because for Greeks they were always mortals who had been heroized after their death (with some notable exceptions), they had superhuman capacities which they could exercise for the sake of humans, who in turn were under an obligation to respect and honour them. As human beings, heroes were closer to mortals for understanding their needs; as local divinities, heroes were interested in their country's health, wealth and military victory. But in both cases, they demanded to be remembered and honoured. Remembering heroes meant remembering the past; remembering the past meant remembering the origins, the history, and consequently the identity, of the community. Heroes could be embodiments of the foundation of the city, of heroic death for one's country, of the accomplishment that honoured their birthplace. They were a personification of the past in the *polis*' present.

6

Neo-Platonic personification

Lucas Siorvanes

Personifications inspired by Neo-Platonism are famous in European art and literature from the early medieval to the Elizabethan, Renaissance, Baroque, Romantic and Symbolist periods.[1] When we look at the Platonists of the late third to the sixth or seventh century AD, however, we encounter conflicting testimony. They advance the supremacy of incorporeal reality and the unknowable One, but identify their philosophically derived principles with the multifarious personifiable divinities of the Romano-Hellenistic world. While they promote allegory as a way to truth, they regard personifications as devices befitting the philosophically untrained minds of *hoi polloi*.

For the Neo-Platonists, Hellenic philosophy is unified, capable of addressing different areas of knowledge in different ways, according to their dictum that 'all is in everything but appropriately in each.' Logic, for example, was considered a topic appropriate for Aristotelian treatment. Porphyry and the later Neo-Platonists rescued Aristotle from obscurity by making him part of their curriculum and the subject of massive commentaries. Matters of representation typically required a Platonic treatment. After all, Plato expounded the distinction between true and apparent (*phainomenon*) reality, where the apparent is a physical image of that which transcends the senses.

In this study I shall explore personification and anthropomorphism in several areas of Neo-Platonic interest. The philosophical ambivalence towards personification has many tributaries, most of which may be traced to later reactions to Platonic values. There is ambivalence about art, literature and rhetoric; ambivalence of fact and figuration in biography, which highlights the issue of the meaning of human life, and ambivalence about

[1] A list should include: Macrobius, Martianus Capella, Boethius, Dante, Ficino, Botticelli, Hieronymus Bosch, Spenser, Milton, Cristoforo Giarda, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Blake, Gauguin.

From *Personification In The Greek World: From Antiquity To Byzantium*, eds Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Copyright © 2005 by Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Published by Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, UK.

myth, symbols and images. Finally there is ambivalence in the relationship with the transcendent.

Philosophers and personification in art

Pagan themes, including themes of the classical personified gods, abound in the art of the late Roman and early Byzantine empire. 'Hellenism' espoused the traditional values and gods to which the principal Neo-Platonists adhered for a variety of intellectual and social reasons. However, Hellenism also stood for secular, universal learning and culture of a high standard, and the philosophers were among its core defenders irrespective of the audience's religion. Ambivalence was widespread among the senatorial and professional classes, who were the main patrons of art and philosophy.

From the second century AD onwards, the Syrian city of Apamea was a nucleus of Pythagorizing Platonism. During recent excavations by Janine and Jean Balty colourful mosaics with pagan themes were found around a likely philosophical setting, the site of the Neo-Platonic school of Apamea. It is thought that the mosaics were installed by Emperor Julian, who was taught by Iamblichus' successors. They have common features with mosaics of the period, such as the mingling of traditional deities with patent personifications of Aion, Dynamis, Theogony, etc. In addition there are name labels next to the figures. One mosaic shows Socrates among the seven sages. A neighbouring one has mythological figures in a contrived arrangement. Victory (Nikê) gives the beauty prize to an undressed Cassiopeia. Looking on with approval are the panel: Persuasion (Peithô), Judgement (Krisis), Poseidon and his Danaid lover, Amymônê, viz. Excellence personified. An obscure figure, possibly Kairos, hovers near another female nude.[2] Poseidon, Amymônê and Nike in a group perhaps alludes to a fourth-century BC painting by Helena. But here Amymônê is in the place and style normally reserved for Poseidon's wife, the Nereid Amphitrite. The beauty prize is given to the vain Cassiopeia, who in the myth had incurred the wrath of Amphitrite and Poseidon. The prize is judged by the personified rhetorical virtues of Persuasion and Judgement.[3] Sorabji has suggested that the mosaic with Cassiopeia belonged to an adjacent rhetoric school, because it was part of the rhetorician's training to take fictitious or mythological cases and argue the opposite conclusion.[4] Bowersock has observed that Cassiopeia triumphant was a recurrent theme

[2] Mosaics at Apamea museum, Balty and Balty 1974; Balty 1981; Balty 1995 and Levi 1947. On the Apamea mosaics and features, see also Ruth Leader-Newby *infra* pp. 201–16.

[3] On the personification of rhetorical virtues, Stafford 2000 ch. 4 (Persuasion) and chs 5–8 (in Classical Athens).

[4] Sorabji, 'The ancient commentators on Aristotle', in Sorabji 1990, 9–10.

in the Near East for religious and local purposes.[5] At any rate, Julian had a low estimation of the worth of myths, so this mosaic must convey an even deeper message (see below on 'Personification and myth in philosophy').

Other places with philosophical connections have yielded busts with probable Neo-Platonic significance. For instance, excavations in the vicinity of south Acropolis, near the site of the Neo-Platonic School, have unearthed at different times part of a statue of Isis, a shrine to Cybele, and two philosopher-style heads.[6] The heads share features that a Neo-Platonist would have appreciated.

The beard and the cloak were the traditional hallmarks of a philosopher since the first century BC. The un-naturalistic upturned eye-pupil is a more peculiar feature (the triangular pupil starts from the centre of the eye, and is in the middle of the eye-socket). It symbolizes the philosopher's preoccupation with the higher world, where divine beings merge with the objects of *nous*. The furrows on this head (fig. 6.1)[7] by my own measurements, trisect the forehead (at 1.5 cm intervals) from the hairline to the beginning of the nose. This probably signifies the three main metaphysical levels typical of Neo-Platonism. The archaeological evidence for the philosophical schools is sparse and circumstantial. None the less, together with the examples of the period they inform us of the kind of artistic environment in which the philosophers lived – a world that is absent in their writings.

The Neo-Platonists took aesthetics much more seriously than Plato and were responsible for its growth through the Middle Ages. For Plotinus the experience of beauty brings humans closest to the experience of the ineffable. The supreme One both is and transcends superlative Beauty. This ambivalence is reflected down to the level of matter and perceptual art, which is our first step towards appreciating the true beauty.[8] With the fourth-century Iamblichus, Neo-Platonists took a more positive view of images. They must have had plenty of artistic pieces around. On the other hand, they shunned representations as inadequate, following the Platonic

[5] Bowersock 1990, Cassiopeia triumphant was a recurring theme from Cyprus to Apamea, 50–53, and plates; on this and other cases of local and transcultural Hellenism, 33.

[6] See Frantz et al. 1988, ch. 4, and for several late ancient philosopher heads, Rodenwalt 1919. See next note on head no.581.

[7] = the cover illustration in Siorvanes 1996, and see Note on cover illustration, p.xiii. The philosopher head is no.581 in the Roman Collection of the National Archaeological Museum, Athens, which I inspected in 1980 and 1990. See further, Ntatsoulê-Stauridê 1985; Voutiras 1981. I thank Mrs Ntatsoulê-Stauridê, Mrs Oikonomidou, Mrs Rômiopoulou and Mrs Tzachou-Alexandrê for their generous help with the inspections, the original photographs and publication permission.

[8] On beauty, the importance of colour, etc., Plotinus, *Enneads* 1.6; 5.8.

admonition of the arts as offering third-hand verities (images of images of reality).

A passage in Proclus' biography encapsulates some of the ambivalence towards artistic figuration. Proclus' physical appearance is admired greatly as the imaging of incorporeal beauty. But words fail to capture such beauty. He is the subject of many artistic sittings. His images are said to be excellent. Yet, neither the artists nor their works are good enough. They are not mentioned again.

> Proclus was exceptionally attractive to see; for not only he had the good looks of symmetry, but also the beauty of his soul bloomed on his body, and like a living light shone wonderfully in a manner which is hard to put into words (*ou pany phrasai tô logô*). He was so elegant to behold that none of the artists (*grapheôn*) was able to capture his likeness, although the images (*eikonôn*) of him were all-beautiful (*pagkalous*), they fell short to a great degree in the imitation of the form's true essence (*eidous alêtheias*).
>
> (Marinus, *Vita Procli* 3)

The human-faced representation of gods and abstract qualities is an obvious case of personification. The supplemental text-labels, as found on mosaics, would have provided the necessary key for the correct interpretation of the symbolical characters. I suggest that the representations of philosophers also fall in the same broad category. The stylistic stereotyping and peculiarities in their artistic representation depict the philosophers as human images of the higher, invisible realm.

In biography

Neo-Platonic biographies portray the personal lives of select philosophers as embodiments of the higher world. Porphyry's *Life of Plotinus*, and Marinus' *Life of Proclus*, despite their differences, share the underlying theme that philosophers can comprehensively represent in their life and manner of death the principles of the metaphysical world.[9] The rebirth to the new philosophical life involves the abandonment of the philosopher's earlier life, parental roots, inadequate teachers, and omission of the birth-date.[10] Abstinence from bodily attachments features strongly both in Christian and pagan hagiographies (including the reports of Hypatia's life). Actually, many of the Neo-Platonist scholarchs enjoyed fruitful marriage. The ultimate aim

[9] Blumenthal 1984; Kalligas 1991; Edwards 2000.

[10] Porphyry, *Vit. Plot.* 38–40 (ed. and trans. A.H. Armstrong, Loeb Library): 'He [Plotinus] never told anyone the month in which he was born or the day of his birthday, because he did not want any sacrifice or feast on his birthday.' Marinus, *Vit. Procl.* only offers a horoscope which fits well with relevant symbolism, but the data do not certify Proclus' actual birth-date: see Siorvanes 1996, ch.1, pp.1–2, 25–7 and nn.32–34.

was to 'become like god' (*homoiôsis theôi*), the ancient motto of Plato's Academy.[11]

Proclus' biography follows a more explicit pattern. Each stage in the philosopher's life marks the fulfilment of a particular virtue, according to the hierarchical Neo-Platonic system. Proclus' life is punctuated by divine interventions or significations, his end is forecast by a prophetic dream and is surrounded by celestial omens (solar eclipses). In effect, the philosopher's life comes to personify Eudaimonia, which is the subtitle of Proclus' biography. Proclus himself describes his teacher Syrianus: 'he came to men as the exact type of philosophy (*philosophias typon*) for the benefit of souls down here, being equal in worth to the statues' (*anti tôn agalmatôn*) (Proclus, *In Parm.* 618.9–11).

The one striking exception seems to be Damascius' *Life* of his teacher *Isidore*.[12] It is punctuated by much sarcasm and irreverence towards fellow pagan academics, which was not lost on Christian readers. Still, Damascius was the Neo-Platonist most conscious of the gap between all endeavour, human and immortal alike, and the full transcendence. This hard-core view found expression in his scepticism towards the achievements of philosophy, in his uncompromising attitude in favour of philosophical independence, and in his disdain of colleagues and authorities who failed to reach this high standard. It is no accident that during his headship the Athenian School did not compromise with imperial authority and became dispossessed. So the elements of the biography of Damascius' *ideal* of philosophical life, and Damascius' conduct may, after all, be regarded as embodiments of his philosophical ethics.

The portrayal of philosophers as embodiments of higher virtues was already established in Plato's description of Socrates, especially in the *Apology* and the *Phaedo*. The ambiguity of fact and symbol in the service of truth becomes more deliberate in the *Critias* and the *Timaeus*. Plato influenced the rise of 'true stories' in the Hellenistic period, and consequently he has sometimes been called the father of fiction.[13] Pythagoras was portrayed as a sage with divine-like powers and insights, and became the subject of several mythologizing biographies by the co-founders of Neo-Platonism, Porphyry and Iamblichus. The second-century AD *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* by Philostratus was an influential example of the (Neo-Pythagorean) sage representing the higher world. We should note, too, that the deliberate fictionalized portrayal of the 'true' lives of prominent personalities, holy men and women as personifications of divine virtues was

[11] Derived not only from Plato, *Theaetetus* 176b, but from *Timaeus* 90de (cf 29e).

[12] For an English translation and notes, Athanassiadi 1999.

[13] Gill 1979.

a major theme in Roman and Christian biographies,[14] and that biographical-style accounts contained personifications and characters who were both historical and symbolical.[15]

To summarize, in late antiquity the lives of select thinkers become deliberately iconic and blend with the lives of legendary figures. The exceptional set the tone for the group (see below on relating to the transcendent). Human persons, from the appearance of their face to their entire life and death, are subsumed by and symbolize the metaphysical exemplars. The advantage over art is that the portrayed figures were authentic persons. This time the biographical account supplies the key to the right interpretation. Accordingly, I suggest, we should rethink hagiographies, including those of the pagan philosophers, as a biographical species of personification.

In literature

Late ancient references to person-making are found overwhelmingly in Christian authors from Origen and Eusebius, to Damascenus and Chrysostom. In non-Christian sources, '*prosôpon*' mainly indicated the character/face in literature, drama or fiction. We have a rare Neo-Platonic reference in Proclus' *Commentary on Plato's Republic*, where he examines myth. Proclus divides literary discourse (*lexis*) into three kinds: the dramatic, which includes tragedy and comedy; the narrative (*aphêgêmatikon*), which includes histories reporting what has occurred (*gegonotôn*) *without personification* (*aneu prosôpopoiias*); and third, 'the mixed, like Homer's poetry, which variously narrates factual events, and imitates persons/characters' (*In Rep.* 1.14.18–27). Neo-Platonists saw the epic poets Homer and Hesiod as mediators to metaphysical truths via allegories. Personification involves the employment of symbolic persons.

Plato had employed a wide range of metaphors, where gods and the soul are often portrayed in anthropomorphic terms.[16] Principles, such as the Law in the *Crito*, are given a human presence and character, and are treated in personal terms.[17] Plato's use of Socrates, Parmenides, Phaedo et al., as characters in a literary setting, the dialogue, set a brilliant example for the promotion of philosophical examination through discourse.[18] However, the

[14] Bowersock 1995; Coon 1997. On the holy man, see Fowden 1982; Cox 1983.

[15] E.g. Augustine, *Confessions*, the character-converts: Marius Victorinus (represents honour and intellectuality) (*Conf.* 8.2–10), Alypion (vehemence-healing of pain), et al.; Augustine asking the earth, the sea, air, heavens, 'myself', and the whole world, who all reply with equal voice (10.9).

[16] Pender 2000; dramatic *personae*, Paxson 1994, 13; but 'quasi-plotting', Lowe 2000, 95f.

[17] Plato, *Crito* 50ff: 'anyone, especially a rhetorician will have a lot to say on behalf of the law ... the Law would answer ... '

[18] Frede 1992.

twists of argument, the dramatic settings, the interjection of myths and priests, the monologues by authoritative figures, and the warning against committing philosophical examination to fixed writing, seem to point to the non-literal aspect of discourse. Perhaps at times the personifications serve illustrative purposes. Perhaps Plato referred to the fluidity and limitations of discourse. Perhaps this was intended to show that knowledge is simply provisional, or that metaphor and personification are a means of accessing the transcendent truth. Whatever the case, Plato cannot be taken in isolation. The rise of fiction[19] and interpretation must be considered.

Some of the first cases of text interpretation are found in the early Academy, Aristotle and Theophrastus.[20] In the later Greek tradition, the second-century AD Pythagorizing Platonist Numenius of Apamea contended that Plato's works have to be reinterpreted correctly in order to show how the dramatic form expresses the structure of a dialogue's deeper meaning. Language is organized like the cosmos.

For Plotinus, the One, Intellect, psyche and matter are linked by words-reason-principles (*logoi*). Language (*logos*) is an imitation (*mimêma*) of the *logos* of psyche (*Enneads* 1.2.3.27–30). Poet and philosopher alike use mythic language to allude to reality, because reality transcends ordinary understanding. The anthropomorphism that pervades epic poetry is to be understood in metaphorical terms and be equated with the myths in Plato's dialogues (*Enneads* 6.7.30.20–30).

In Porphyry the 'higher' meaning of epics becomes deliberately the secondary meaning in allegory and metaphor. Odysseus, for example, symbolizes the human soul as it wanders in the physical world trying to find the way back to its proper, incorporeal home. Porphyry shows well the Neo-Platonic ambivalence. He distrusts even the best interpreters of poetic works, but equally he is satisfied that the meaning of Homer's text is valid. In the treatise *On Statues*, Porphyry discusses how the gods (Zeus, Hephaestus, etc.) are represented anthropomorphically. In the third fragment, he says that the theologians who wrote the verses were creating an icon-image of the god with the same qualities as a statue.[21]

At the fifth-century AD Athenian School, the characters in Plato's dialogues are regarded as personified symbols of specific aspects of the higher levels of being. Special attention is given to the introductory part of the dialogues (see next section, on rhetorical structures), where the setting

[19] Gill and Wiseman 1993; Bowersock 1995; Lowe 2000. I thank Nick Lowe for Lowe 2001.

[20] Tarrant 2000. I thank Han Baltussen for Baltussen 2000.

[21] Porphyry, *peri agalmatôn*, ed. J. Bidez, Leipzig: Teubner, 1913; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1964. refs: 3.1–54, also 2.8, 8.9, 10.2–13 (Lamberton 1986, 110–13).

and *personae* are presented.[22] On the content, the raping, adultery, fighting, and the presence of countless material objects among the gods in literary accounts are explained by reference to a higher/deeper level of interpretation and metaphysics. The sexual promiscuity of male and female gods, for instance, symbolizes the joining of 'male' and 'female' principles, viz. essence and power.[23]

The philosophers of the Alexandrian School, notably Olympiodorus, offer a favourable view of myths and anthropomorphism among the Neo-Platonists and suggest how to translate them to fit different audiences. Lamberton, however, has distanced allegory in the interpretive tradition from personification. The latter, typified by the fourth-century Latin Christian Prudentius, offers characters that are too obtrusive and concrete. None the less, Boethius shows that there were nuanced uses of personification and allegory mixed with interpretation in Neo-Platonism.[24] Rich, recognizable personifications appear again in the Latin Neo-Platonists Macrobius (c. 410), Martianus Capella, the personification of the Liberal Arts, Boethius' vivid description of Lady Philosophy, i.e. Neo-Platonism personified, and the themes of Fortuna and the Wheel of Fortune, which influenced Chaucer and Queen Elizabeth I.[25]

In rhetoric, and in education

Personification in late ancient philosophy is also linked to rhetoric. Sophistry and philosophy had common roots in classical Athens. Aristotle described the various ways of bringing rhetorical arguments to life by imitation of people alive or dead. Personification is already in Antiphon, and later perhaps in Demetrius of Phalerum, the third-century BC rhetorician, Aristotelian and governor of Athens. Given the influence of sophistical methods on Athenian philosophers, Plato's dramatic characters are as much rhetorical as literary personae.[26] According to Quintilian, the leading teacher of rhetoric in first-century AD Rome, the fictitious verbal exchange of

[22] See e.g. Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Parmenides* (*In Parm.*) *proemium*, 628ff; 'Athenian', 'Atlantean' in Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* (*In Tim.*) 29ff. On the importance given to the *proemium*, I thank Myles Burnyeat for Burnyeat 1997.

[23] On the sexuality of male and female gods, and their correspondence to essence-power, see e.g. Proclus, *In Tim.* 1.49, and *Elements of Theology* propositions 151–9.

[24] On the development of allegory, especially among Platonists, Lamberton 1986, on Numenius, 77ff, Plotinus, Porphyry et al., 83ff, 97ff; on personification vs interpretation, 146, 273–81. Sheppard 1980; Coulter 1976.

[25] Lady Philosophy in Boethius, *Philosophiae Consolationis* 1.1. Cf. Lady Athena/philosophy in Proclus' biography, *Vita Procli* sections 6, 9, 30. On medieval personifications see Hourihane, Timmermann et al. 2000.

[26] Clay 1994.

personified characters bore the technical name 'dialogue'.[27] Quintilian also shows the great development of the nuances of personification.

In the imperial period, 'sophist' meant a teacher of rhetoric.[28] Rhetoric had become equivalent to secondary or further education, which typically groomed students for careers at the court, the civil service, or legal practice, and later in the Church. Learning rhetoric required knowledge of literature and literary forms. Classical myths and stories were used as source-material for practical exercises in rhetorical manipulation. Philosophy provided the higher learning. The close interdependence of literature, rhetoric and philosophy would account for Porphyry's fascination with the facets of discourse and epics.

The great influence of Neo-Platonism resulted in the integration of rhetoric and philosophy in education. Rhetoric became the preparation to philosophy. Philosophy itself encompassed an encyclopaedic range of subjects, including logic, text interpretation, theology and science, and the Neo-Platonists offered it in a highly organized educational system, which aimed to cultivate all the capacities of the soul. This is the Paideia found personified in late antique settings. Rhetoric professors wrote *Prolegomena* modelled on the philosophical *Prolegomena* of the Neo-Platonist professors.[29] Reciprocally, Neo-Platonist professors wrote commentaries on works of rhetoricians, and on the rhetoric in Plato's *Phaedrus* and *Gorgias*.[30]

The cross-influences are many. The Neo-Platonic exegetical method of analysing philosophical texts by 'headings', dialectical 'division' and 'sections', as instituted by Proclus at the Athenian and Alexandrian Schools, resembles the systematic analysis, and teaching, of rhetorical material by 'headings' and 'division'. The structure of formal philosophical treatises by *proemium* and exposition matches the rhetorical composition by *proemium* and 'narrative'. Significantly, the Neo-Platonic and the rhetorical argumentations alike utilize both reality and personality.

Before joining Plotinus, Porphyry first trained with the Athenian sophist-rhetorician Longinus, who had philosophical interests of the same sort as Plotinus. Porphyry, the harmonizer of Aristotle with Plato, may also have initiated the assimilation of rhetoric in philosophy (references to him in the fourth century Athenian rhetor Sopatros and the fifth-century Nicolaus). Iamblichus wrote a work on rhetoric. Sallustius, Eunapius and many other

[27] On rhetorical dialogue, and later *sermocinatio*, Kennedy 1994 and Paxson 1994, ch. 1. Continued by Christian theologians for the establishment and refinement of doctrines through adversarial, often imaginary 'dialogues', see Averil Cameron's project 'From Late Antiquity to Islam', and in Cameron 1991a.

[28] Kennedy 1983, 133.

[29] See Mansfeld 1994. Kennedy 1994, on rhetoric as reorganized by Neo-Platonism, 209–24.

[30] Called 'the clearest integration of rhetoric in a philosophical system' by Kennedy 1983, 132.

sophists were associates of important fourth-century Neo-Platonist philosophers of the Iamblichean circle, such as Maximus of Ephesus, who themselves sometimes worked as sophists. The Neo-Platonist Emperor Julian extolled the educational value of both rhetoric and philosophy.

At the Athenian philosophy school, Syrianus wrote a commentary *On Forms of Style* (*Peri Ideôn*), an important textbook composed by the famous second-century AD rhetorician Hermogenes (fl. in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, who established chairs of philosophy at Athens). Two succeeding heads of the Athenian School, Syrianus' student Proclus, and Isidore's student Damascius, first studied rhetoric and then philosophy. According to his biographer, Proclus became as proficient as a rhetoric teacher. At Athens, Proclus was friend and Lycian compatriot of the rhetorician Nicolaus, who subsequently became professor at Constantinople. Syrianus and Proclus were also close friends of the Athenian scholarch of rhetoric, Lachares, and held joint *conversazioni*.[31]

At the Alexandrian philosophy school, Hermeias wrote on rhetoric in his Plato commentaries. Olympiodorus laced his lectures with material of interest to rhetoric students, and John Philoponus taught as a 'grammarian'. At Gaza, the rhetorician Aeneas, a student of the Neo-Platonist Hierocles, founded a Christian school and promoted the philosophical value of Christianity through Platonism.

Manuals on rhetorical forms offer good evidence on the use of personification.[32] The leading rhetorician of the fourth century AD was the pagan Libanius, friend of Emperor Julian. One of his students, the rhetorician-sophist Aphthonius of Antioch was highly esteemed by the Neo-Platonists, particularly for his systematic compendium of the topics and practical exercises for young pupils destined for a public or legal career. This is the sort of learning that prominent Neo-Platonists such as Proclus, himself a lawyer's son, received. The textbooks of Aphthonius and Nicolaus continued to be used in Byzantine education.[33]

Aphthonius' material would have originated in earlier teachers, where the rhetorical virtue of 'truth' (*alêtheia*), e.g. in Hermogenes' *Forms of Style*, had the meaning of sincerity. The pervading thinking of the 'introductory training-exercises' (*progymnasmata*) is how to mix fiction with truth or fact for good effect. Myth, narration, characterization, image-making are various

[31] On rhetoricians and philosophers at Athens, Marinus, *Vit. Procl.* sections 10 and 11, including that Proclus became so proficient that he was regarded as a rhetoric teacher (this is partly a stylistic praise).

[32] There is a brief discussion of personification in ancient rhetorical theory in Stafford 2000, 5–9.

[33] On the authority of Aphthonius, and Nicolaus as the most thoughtful writer on the matter, used as textbooks by Byzantines, see Kennedy 1994, chs. 10–12.

types of deliberate, persuasive fabrication, and personification is the epitome.

> Myth originated with poets, but has now also become common to rhetors as an instrument of exhortation. *Myth is a false discourse which gives an image of truth* (*esti de mythos logos pseudês eikonizôn alêtheian*).
>
> (Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata* 1.1–6)

> Narration (*diêgêma*) is the exposition of a event that has taken place in fact (*pragmatos gegonotos*), or *as if it has occurred in fact* (*hôs gegonotos*). Narration is of the dramatic, historical or political kind. The dramatic is fictitious/fabricated (*peplasmenon*), the historical involves telling an ancient story, the political is the kind that rhetors use for their own means in their disputes.
>
> (*Progymnasmata* 2.14–22)

> Characterisation is the imitation of the character of a given person [i.e. making up an impression of a speaking person, because speaking from character enhances persuasive appeal]. It is differentiated in three kinds: image-making, person-making, and character-making. In the character-making (*êthopoiia*) the person is known, the character alone is fabricated; whence it is called by the name characterisation *per se*; for example, as if what words Heracles would speak when Eurystheus gives him orders; in this case Heracles is known, and we fabricate the speaker's character. In image-making (*eidôlopoiia*) the person is known, but is dead and has ceased to speak, as the ones whom Eupolis fabricated in the *Demes* and Aristides in *On the Four*; whence it is called image-making. In person-making everything is fictitious/fabricated, both character and person (*prosôpopoiia de, hotan hapanta plattêtai, kai êthos kai prosôpon*), just as Menander created Refutation; for refutation is a thing, and certainly not a person; whence it is called personification; for the person is fabricated together with the character.
>
> (*Progymnasmata* 34.1–18)[34]

Nicolaus agrees that personification is the fabrication of character and spoken word. He adds that this is especially attributed to poets, who use their licence to fabricate persons and words.[35] In a commentary on Aristides' *On the Four*, Aphthonius is reported to have said that Homer's Odysseus is an example of 'image-making'. [36]

A commentator on Hermogenes adapts the philosophical 'tool' of logic to rhetoric. He also employs the sophisticated range of Greek word-forms. The typology of rhetorical argument by 'headings' and 'division' is laid out in a scheme of opposition to distinguish the nature of personification by a series

[34] *Aphthonii progymnasmata*, ed. H. Rabe, Rhetores Graeci 10, Leipzig: Teubner, 1926.

[35] *Nicolai progymnasmata*, ed. J. Felten, Rhetores Graeci 11, Leipzig: Teubner, 1913. ref: *Progymnasmata* 65.4–10.

[36] *Scholia in Aelium Aristidem*, ed. W. Dindorf, Aristides 3, Leipzig: Reimer, 1829; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1964. ref. *Scholia in Aelium Aristidem* 229.4.2–9.

of contrasts. To explain it loosely, a fact and something fabricated (*plaston*) are contrasted because they compete to be accepted as the hard-given truth. Personification and fact, however, are opposite in so far as one offers plasticity but the other something fixed. In other words, the personified draws attention to that which is malleable, provisional or metaphorical.

> Personification *per se* differs from what is fabricated/invented, in so far as personification proceeds through the subdivision and by the so-called schema of counterposition, while the fabricated is the contrary of what has occurred (the fact). From this sense, personification is also called to be fabricated (middle/passive infinitive), or that which is <in the act or process of> being fabricated (present tense participle), but the fabricated (in the substantive) is the taking of what is contrary to the fact, and is the fabricated in the strict sense. For the fabricated is the taking of what is not a fact as fact.[37]

None the less, Proclus' friend Hermeias, head of the Alexandrian School, observes that skilled rhetoric and personification are not essential for persuading the masses. A woman baring her breasts and children crying are just as effective.[38]

In short, the Neo-Platonists were fully conversant with deliberate fictionalisation, personification, and the methods systematized by rhetoricians. However they were also aware of the limitations. The philosophers would always say that their aim was the good pedagogy of the soul.

Personification and myth in philosophy

Neo-Platonism glories in reification, and its opposite, personification – but does not conform to modern categorizations.[39] According to Neo-Platonic analysis, ordinary things are defined derivatively from transcendent realities consisting of the properties in their own substantive existence. For example,

[37] *Anonymi In Hermogenem, Commentarium in librum peri heureseôs* , ed. C. Walz, Rhetores Graeci 7.2, Stuttgart, 1834, reprint Osnabruck: Zeller, 1968, n.15, p.778.10–779.5, with footnotes 32–34: Η προσωποποιΐα ταύτη διαφέρειτοῦ πλαστοῦ, καθὸ ἡ μεν προσωποποιΐα διὰ τῆς ὑποδιαιρέσεως πρόεισι καὶ τοῦ ἀντιθετικοῦ καλουμένου σχήματος, τὸ δὲ πλαστὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου ἤ τοῦ γεγονότος· ὅθεν καὶ πλάττεσθαι μὲν λέγεται ἡ προσωποποιΐα ἤτοι πλαττόμενον πλαστὸν δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου ἤ τοῦ γεγονότος λαμβανόμενον, ὅ καὶ κυρίως πλαστόν· πλαστόν δὲ ἐστι τὸ μὴ γεγονὸς ὡς γεγονὸς. Cf Proclus on contraries being worse than contradictories because contraries fight on the same subject: refs and discussion, see Siorvanes 1996, 60–63. See M. Heath, 'Invention', in Porter ed. 1997; on rhetorical 'headings', 'division', etc., Russell 1983.

[38] Both are pleading for pity (how times have changed!); Hermeias, *Commentary on Plato's Phaedrus* (*In Platonis Phaedrum*) 221.25–222.2.

[39] For Paxson 1994, ch.4, the traditional medieval topos was derived from Neoplatonism (119), but personification as Platonic or Thomist universals 'creeps to ... medieval philosophical Realism, a dubious hypothetical resolution' (p.98); Paxson's treatment of personification is based on modern (materialist) dialectics and so is often out of context.

a living, thinking being derives from Life, Intellect and Being. These are not just reifications of the ordinary properties, but the paradigmatic realities. Neo-Platonists extended this to all sorts of principles that are abstracted philosophically, such as 'Similarity' and 'Limit'.

However, the realities, *hypostases*, are themselves the actualized expressions, emanations of the completely ineffable One. The principles of these multi-layered realities Neo-Platonists identify with the named, individualized gods of the various panthea. So in a way the transcendent realities are both reifications and personifications. The objects of philosophy become personified in two ways: as incorporeal character-entities, acting as faces of the unknowable One; as correlates of the deities that were eminently personifiable in human form.

In Plotinus, Zeus is Intellect personified; Aphrodite the Soul of Zeus; Poverty (Penia) is Matter; and Love, Plenty (Poros) are principles personified (*Enneads* 3.5); while Justice and Minôs personified are the attendants of Intellect-Zeus (*Enneads* 5.8.4; 6.9.7). Damascius tells us that Hedone, Pleasure, was hymned as a goddess by Iamblichus and recognized as holy by Proclus.[40] Proclus in his *Platonic Theology* identifies 'Limit' and the 'Unlimited', 'Sameness', 'Dissimilarity', 'Life', 'Number', 'Heaven', 'Energeia', etc., with various Orphic, Olympian and Chaldaean divinities; the pair Limit-Unlimited is called the source of the gods. Further examples include: the Activity of Intelligible Being is identified with the Orphic Phanes; the Power of Nous with Rhea and with the Chaldaean 'Goddess'; the Essence of Nous with Cronus; the Essence of the hypercosmic Soul with Demeter, Apollo, the Fates, etc., down to the celestial bodies, the visible Helios, Zeus, Aphrodite (Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*).

Below the One, all the *hypostases* and self-hypostasized principles correspond to divine characters, the plural gods. Proclus stretches the personified characters to fill his philosophically derived hierarchy. He introduces new grades (or personalities) of the same god on different levels. Subsidiary 'powers' are identified with 'angels', 'daemons' and 'heroes'.

These multi-personified principles and abstractions are cited as gods and mediating spirits in hymns, and appear alongside traditional divinities in art and literature, much as we see centuries later in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. Certainly, they influenced directly the *Celestial Hierarchy* of pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. The philosophers deliberately gave to their metaphysical domain the personae of the multifaceted divinities of late antiquity.

Elsewhere anthropomorphism is called an unreliable way of understanding the divine, because it makes us think that what is human applies equally to the divine, which can easily mislead. At best it draws

[40] Damascius, *Commentary on Plato's Philebus* (*In Philebum*), 19.1–6.

attention to superficial similarities between humans and the gods. Thus anthropomorphism is often rejected (e.g. Ammonius, *Commentary on Aristotle's On Interpretation*, 249.1–5),[41] because like myths it can confuse the reader about the real causes, by mixing them up with transient and fictitious things (e.g. Asclepius, *Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics*, 196.31–197.2).[42] The correct key is: 'to interpret the trope of allegorical myth, one should substitute for the creations their creators and supervisors by homonymy and analogy, for example, taking humans to signify the human-making god (*hoion anti anthrôpôn ton anthrôpopoion theon*)'.[43]

But how can myth, including personification, be both false and an image of truth? Aphthonius' definition resurfaces in a philosophical work, a Neo-Platonic commentary on Plato's *Gorgias*.[44] Some of the Neo-Platonic-style *Prolegomena* on Aphthonius confirm that myths are useful as introductions to the deeper meanings.[45] Proclus points out that capacity for falsehood (*pseudos*) and deception (*apatê*) characterizes representations.[46] In Neo-Platonic philosophy falsehood, like evil, is considered a privation.[47]

For the fourth-century Neo-Platonist sophist, Sallustius, the myth-makers (*mythoplastai*) produce representations of the gods but employ complicated descriptions including paradoxical pairs of opposites. The text acts as a face-mask. It alludes to, and covers up, a related hidden meaning. The myths speak about the gods to everyone, but limit the true meaning to those who have the capacity and training to understand it. Thus the use of myths is criticized, but also recommended.[48] Myths are suitable devices for learning, because like physical training they exercise the mind with difficulties and limitations.

Emperor Julian makes vivid the elitist reaction to the use of mythological characters. Myths approach the philosophical truth, but their role is akin to

---

[41] I thank Elias Tempelis for Tempelis 1998, see 101.

[42] See also Asclepius, *In Metaph.* 167.14–18.

[43] Damascius, *Commentary on Plato's Phaedo* (*In Phaedonem*) 136.1–3.

[44] Olympiodorus *In Platonis Gorgiam commentaria* 46.3.5–10 (Westerink). And see Olympiodorus, *Commentary on Plato's Gorgias*, transl. and annotated H. Tarrant et al., Leiden: Brill, 1998: ἄλλως τε καὶ μῦθος οὐδέν ἔστιν ἢ λόγος ψευδὴς εἰκονίζων ἀλήθειαν. Εἰ οὖν εἰκών ἐστιν ἀληθείας ὁ μῦθος, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ εἰκὼν τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς, εἰκότως μύθοις χαίρει ἡ ψυχὴ ὡς εἰκὼν εἰκόνι. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐκ παίδων καὶ ἀπαλῶν ὀνύχων συντρεφόμεθα μύθοις, δεῖ αὐτοὺς παραλαμβάνεσθαι.

[45] *Anonymous commentaries on Aphthonius, Prolegomena in progymnasmata*, ed. H. Rabe, Rhetores Graeci 14, Leipzig: Teubner, 1931. ref. 14.75.14–17.

[46] Proclus, *Theol. Plat.* 1.99.5–17, cf Plato, *Republic* II, 379b16. Proclus, *In Rep.* 1.36.13–22. *Theol. Plat.* 1.99.14–18; *In Parm.* 852.

[47] Falsehood as the undoing or the negation of truth is the stronger version, and is mostly applied to rhetorical argument, cf. Moutsopoulos 1982.

[48] For the range of opinions, Sallustius, *De deis et mundo* 3.3–4, 4.6, encapsulated in 3.4.1–10; and see p.xliii–xlv (Nock); Lamberton 1986, 139f.

easily masticated food for teething, immature minds who cannot yet take in the full truth. The philosopher is like a free citizen physician who can straightforwardly prescribe what is appropriate; or, in employing myths, he is like a slave-therapist who is obliged to flatter his patient-master while he tries to heal him.[49] If Julian were responsible for the Apamea mosaics, he offered a gift with a doubly hidden meaning.

Symbolic, lifelike characters present powerful verisimilitude. The rhetorician Sopatros (see above) defines myth as a fictitious artifice of our thinking, contrived to provide a persuasive image of truth by making it like a living thing or a fact.[50] Platonists knew well the creative power and licence of our mind. For Porphyry, psyche can easily 'fashion anew grand ideas from incidentals' (*psychê ek tou tychontos anaplattei megala*). Myth, the result of the 'image-making (*eidôlopoios*) power of phantasia', can only be distinguished from (divine) truth, when the intellect is active and phantasia asleep.[51] Yet, imagination is our psyche's essential activity.

Representation, including personification, intrinsically involves fabrication.[52] The artist's fiction can reflect the creative activity of the gods, just as when author and fabricator, Platôn and *plattôn*, concur.[53] Even the created cosmos can be considered as fictitious as a myth or artifice.[54] Further, in myth-making the past of legends concurs with the metaphysical past of the created world.[55] Fiction/artifice is no longer a contrast to fact, but is suitable to contemplate truth.[56]

---

[49] Julian, *Against Heraclius the Cynic*, 2.33–6 (206d–207); 3.23–6 (207d–208) Rochefort, and see Lamberton 1986, 137.

[50] *Scholia in Theonem Rherorem, Scholia in progymnasmata*, ed. C. Walz, Rhetores Graeci 1, repr. Osnabruck: Zeller, 1968. ref: 259.6–13. Cf. 261.25–6. persuasiveness is the impression of sincerity/truth (πιθανότης ἐστιν ἔμφασις ἀληθείας).

[51] (Porphyry's) doubts as to the source of truth, in Iamblichus, *Mysteries*, 10, 2.2–12. See Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Cratylus* (*In Crat.*) 17, names products of both epistemic nous and phantasia; *In Parm.* 711; *Commentary on Euclid* 13.3–26., on psyche's concepts being full or empty eggs. Olympiodorus, *Commentary on Plato's Gorgias* (*In Gorg.*) 46.3 (see previously), fiction is imaging truth, and psyche uses imagination for myth.

[52] To imitate one must know two things, the archetype and the demiurgic art, Proclus, *In Crat.* 20. 52. Names are the product of epistemic discursion and imagining soul, *In Crat.* 17. On divine and human creativity and 'licence', Lamberton 1986, 121ff.

[53] Proclus' pun on 'Plato' and 'fabricator': *In Tim.* 1.357.24–28; *In Tim.* 2.9.5–7; *In Tim.* 2.1.19–2.3; *In Tim.* 2.21.20–30; *In Tim.* 2.121.22–4; *Theol. Plat.* 1.121.11–12; *Theol. Plat.* 5.113.21–114.4.

[54] Famous phrase in Sallustius, *De deis et mundo* 3.3.9–10; cf. Proclus, *In Crat.* 17.5 (ἢ ὡς αἱ τεχνηταὶ εἰκόνες ἐοικυῖαι τοῖς ἀρχετύποις ἑαυτῶν).

[55] On metaphysics of time, Plass 1993; Siorvanes 1996, 134–6.

[56] Proclus, *Theol. Plat.* 1.29.7–17, the 'artificial', τὸ μεμηχανημένον, is no longer pejorative as it is in *Theol. Plat.* 1.56.3–6 where it is called empty and contrast to factual reality. Cf. *Theol. Plat.* 1.23.1–12.

The problems of myth and personification are important for Neo-Platonism. Unlike the religions of the Book, there is no literal absolute truth.[57] Metaphor and symbol are the staple of knowledge.[58]

Symbol, icon and idol

Personification in philosophical contexts offers complex symbolism. For the Neo-Platonists, symbols signify the essence of what is being represented, but are allowed to be ambiguous, even contradictory. Homer, Plato and other inspired writers can give diverse, conflicting descriptions of the divine truths and include ironies and falsehoods. Deep down they all allude to some truth. The philosophical accounts of gods do likewise.[59]

In the *Platonic Theology*, book 1 chapter 4, Proclus expounds the different kinds of discourse about truth.[60] Here, symbols are localized at our psychical level. Icon-images are further removed, at the corporeal level. This is the level of *phaenomena*, where representations can be felt by the physical senses but are transient and subject to illusion. But elsewhere Proclus refers to mysticism and the trans-intellective domain as symbolical, including the names of the gods at the highest level of Being. Symbols extend to all possible forms of being and discourse. Image, symbol, etc., merge.[61] To summarize, the context of person-imaging in Neo-Platonism, the entire Neo-Platonic system consists of 'series' of analogical proportionalities.[62] Each 'level' stands as an image of those above it, and as a model to those below it. So, the Neo-Platonists' inquiry into what is a person highlights this analogical connectivity. It validates representation and links humans with the higher principles (cf. on biography, above).[63]

---

[57] No holy writ, and on literality and allegory, Lamberton 1986, 169, 139–40, 223–4.

[58] Proclus, *Theol. Plat.* 1.19-23; 5.18.14–18. Only pure intellects would need no myth-fiction, Olympiodorus, *In Gorg.* 46.3.1–10; 46.6.10–28.

[59] Examples: Proclus, *Theol. Plat.* 1.20–21: 'truth through symbols; statements about gods are symbolical and mythical, or by images (1.20.2–3); the way of mythology: allusion, represents with sensibles and particulars, and constructs idol-images and pseudo entities out of the true so Plato (*Republic*, II 376e2–383c7) warns against mythology in education'. *Theol. Plat.* 5 chs 24 and 34, on the truth behind the Protagoras. Olympiodorus, *In Gorg.* 49.1.5 (Westerink), 'in the depth of myth there is truth'. Studies include: Beierwaltes 1985, especially 'Mythos als Bild und der philosophische Gedanken', 114–22; Beierwaltes 1979, on myth, 287–91; Lamberton 1986, on ambiguity and contradiction in naming gods 180–232.

[60] For analyses and some problems, Gersh 2000; Sheppard 2000.

[61] Dillon 1976; Siorvanes 2000. The philosophical distinctions about representation were scholastic but never rigid. The flexibility proved useful for the Christian views of representation but fed the ambivalence about symbolism and literality/materiality. I thank Averil Cameron for Cameron 1991b.

[62] Sources on analogy and imaging include, e.g. the beginning of Proclus' *Commentary on the Timaeus*. For recent studies, I thank Anne Sheppard for Sheppard 2001 (including Neo-Platonic aesthetics in relation to classic sculptures) and Sheppard 2003 (with further bibliography).

[63] Saffrey 1976/1990.

For Plotinus, the body is the idol-image of the true human essence. Socrates, for example, has two related but different aspects. His visible body is captured by artistic images and colours. But the body is itself the icon-image of the intellectual, truest and real side, which is Socrates *per se* (*Enneads* 6.3.15.30-38).

For Porphyry, it is appropriate that the statues of gods should be anthropomorphic, because humans are the most noble of the living beings (Porphyry, *Contra Christianos* 76.24). This is the reciprocal aspect of the (Neo)Platonic objective of man becoming like god (and cf. below on 'relating to the transcendent').

For Iamblichus, the sense-perceived, visible side is the *eikôn*. It is like a 'mirror in water' picturing what is intellectual, invisible and truly real (*De communi mathematica scientia* 8.168). But the 'image-making art' (*eidôlopoiêtikê technê*) (8.168.13–14) is the lowest form of divinization because it arises from the physical properties of things.[64]

For Proclus, there are many 'series' of icons – paradigms about which myths talk in manifold ways (*In Rep.* 1.77.11–78.5). The painter is the 'maker' of the artistic representation of a human being, while the Creator-Demiurge is the 'maker' of the Form Human, of which the physical human is a copy (*In Rep.* 2.86.10–25). Likewise, 'as the visible Socrates is one thing but the true Socrates (*alêthinos*) is another, so the true Sun and Jupiter are different from that which consists of body (i.e. the planets of the same name)' (*In Tim.* 3.72.19–21). Extending this to the verbal discourse: 'names are imitations and idol-images (*eidôlôn*) of the reality of substances' (*In Crat.* 68.3). In his metaphysics, the highest model-archetype is proximate to the One; this, on a lower level, God as the Craftsman uses to make the cosmos.

Although *eikôn* and *eidôlon* are practically interchangeable,[65] Proclus distinguishes the two with regard to their causation. *Eikôn* refers to the picture-image produced by an artist or craftsman working on a sculpture or painting (cf. on art, above, and God as Craftsman). The artist uses a model-paradigm, which is something distinct from him, and often resides in the artist's imagination. *Eidôlon* refers to the likeness of an image to its model, e.g. when a face (*prosôpon*) is reflected in a mirror (*In Parm.* 839–841). Proclus says that *eikôn* is the better concept, because it shows more clearly that maker and model-paradigm are separate.

All these, however, remain 'primarily as aids for the less advanced students' (*eis tên tôn atelesterôn boêtheian*) (Proclus, *In Parm.* 841.31–3).

> None of these analogies has any scientific value, nor do all of them together adequately grasp the true nature of the participation in the divine Forms. This

[64] See also Finamore 1993, especially 59–60 n.23.

[65] 'Every eikon is an idol-likeness of that which is an eikon-copy (πᾶσα γὰρ εἰκὼν εἴδωλόν ἐστιν, οὗ ἐστιν εἰκών)' Proclus, *In Parm.* 816.16–18.

seems to be the reason why Plato sometimes calls the Forms icon-images, and likens them to paintings, sometimes impressions, and sometimes idol-likenesses.[66]

Relating to the transcendent

Whether Plato's use of anthropomorphism and myth had to do with knowledge of the transcendent is controversial in modern studies. While literature may be allowed in as an assistant to reason, the so-called 'romantic', 'mystical' option, often made synonymous with 'Neoplatonism', tends to be dismissed.[67] All this ignores that Neo-Platonism contained both the rationalist and mystical elements, which appealed to polarized audiences long after ancient philosophy had passed on to the West.

According to Neo-Platonism, what is immanent in ordinary experience 'participates in', and acts as a symbol of, the transcendent.[68] Representations (including myth and personification) contain distorted or invalid elements, and limitations. No representation can be a perfect, unambiguous manifestation of the transcendent model. In this manner, representations are false and true, persona-masks and expressions.

However, Neo-Platonic transcendence has at least two senses.[69] To transcend meant to walk from one place to another (*metabasis*), or to rise above (*hypairein*). For Proclus (and Porphyry), our soul ascends through every level of being. The last step is ambiguous and poignant: the psyche wishing 'to be attached to that which is *ineffable and beyond all being*' (*synaptesthai tôi arrêtôi kai pantôn epekeina tôn ontôn*), 'terminates its ascent in *the principle of beings*' (*aniousa teleutêsêi tên tôn ontôn archên*). [70]

The sense of 'beyond' (*epekeina*) captures the transition to something else; or the transition from what can be described in a literal way to that which cannot. This is also characteristic of the transition in referencing in symbolism and personification. A more refined version follows the multi-layered metaphysics. Referencing can involve many successive metaphorical transitions.

On the other hand, the 'principle' (*archê*) refers to the archetype which defines a group or series, and therefore somehow remains linked to the members sharing the property. The principle supplies the definition, but is

[66] Proclus, *In Parm.* 841.36–842.4 (ποτὲ μὲν εἰκόνας τὰ εἴδη λέγειν καὶ ζωγραφήμασιν εἰκάζειν ποτὲ δὲ ἐκτυπώμασι ποτὲ δὲ εἰδώλοις).

[67] E.g. Pender 2000 on the cognitive role of Plato's myths, 78–86, 115, and throughout.

[68] Proclus, *Theol. Plat.* 6.62.25–7: 'The *Timaeus* offers dual procession, the one correlated (*syntetagmenên*) with others, and the exempt (*exêrêmenên*), supranatural and unknown', to 6.63, where the former is a 'symbol'. On participation, etc., Siorvanes 1996, ch.2.

[69] Siorvanes 1998.

[70] Proclus, *Theol. Plat.* 1.16.22–6. On the ambiguity of unity as henad and monad, and whole, Lloyd 1990, chs. 4–6; Siorvanes 2000.

'exempt' or 'exceptional' (*exêrêmenon*). As Damascius points out, transcendence terms remain tied to our human frame of reference. In saying something is transcendent we already imply transcendent *in relation to* us. The superlative is connected, qualified relative to its base norm, just as the model is connected to the representations.

Personification is not simply about representing something abstract, but about conceiving it in relation to human terms and capturing it in a form familiar to us. Proclus recognizes that even what Neo-Platonists call the One is the conceptual projection of our human understanding of unity.[71]

Conclusion: the value of representation

The philosophers of Late Antiquity inherited from Plato the criticism of representations and rhetoric, and from Christianity the criticism of divine pluralism and idolatry. In response, they offered their sophisticated understanding of symbolism, coupled with their insistence that myths and anthropomorphism are misleading if they are taken literally. Thus Hellenic philosophy provided ample material both for the iconophiles and iconoclasts of all ages.

I shall conclude by letting Proclus illustrate the value and limits of personification. Note how he deploys some of the multi-layered senses of vision and image, and quietly distinguishes between reading literature and looking at visual objects. What the physical/superficial eye sees is different from what the eye of the soul can appreciate. His remark – does the image leave a special impression or just a cold feeling? – articulates the kind of discernment that Neo-Platonic education aimed to cultivate.

> Suppose someone had seen Athena herself such as Homer says ... [followed by quotation of *Iliad* 5.734–8] If after encountering this vision he should wish to paint (*grapsai*) a picture (*eikona*) of the Athena he had seen, let him paint it; and another one who had seen the Athena of Pheidias in the same posture ... should also do so ... Their pictures would appear to superficial observers to differ not at all (*hai eikones tois epipolês ouden diapherein*). But the picture made by the one who had seen the goddess will make a special impression (*allên emphasin*), whereas the other will only have a frigid resemblance (*apepsygmenên aphomoiôsin*), since it is the picture of a lifeless object.
>
> (*Commentary on Plato's Parmenides*, 851.30-852.15)

[71] Proclus, *In Parm.* VII, 54.11–15 Klibansky.

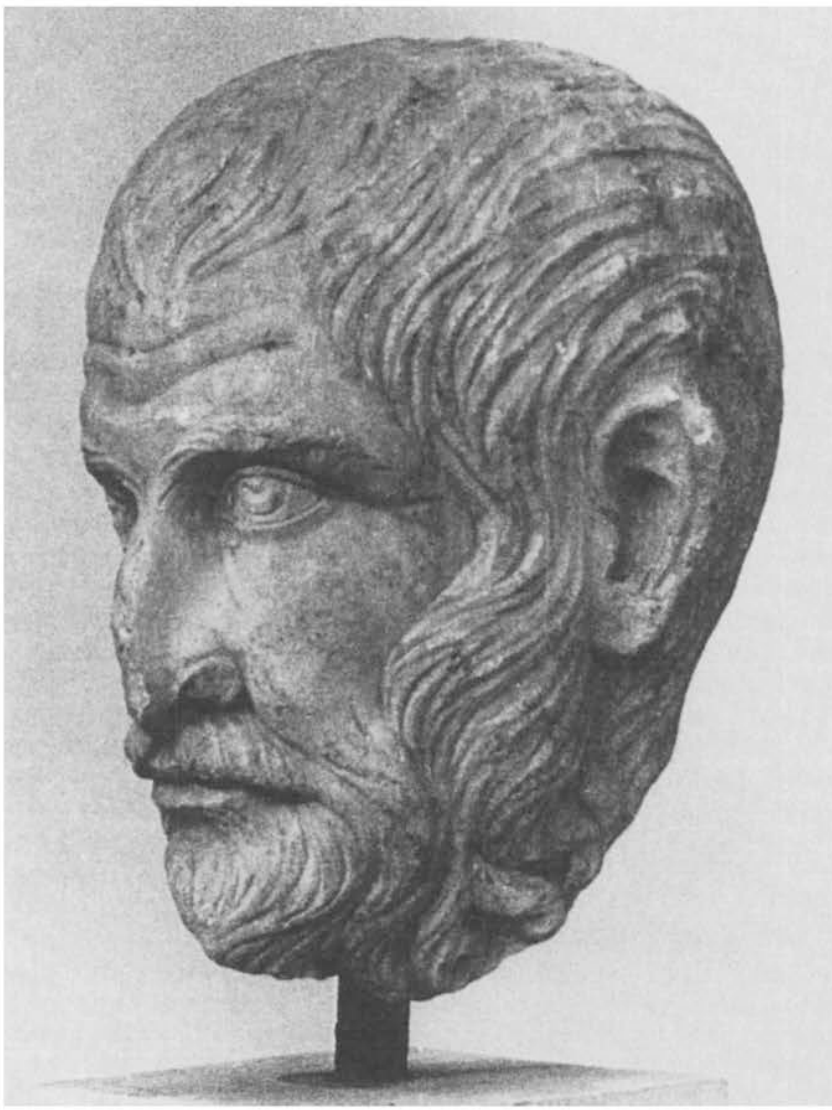


Fig. 6.1 Neo-Platonist philosopher head, c. fourth or fifth century AD.

PART II

PERSONIFICATION IN MYTH AND CULT

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

7

Side: the personification of the pomegranate*

Efthymios G. Lazongas

Side (σίδη) in ancient Greek means pomegranate. This sacred fruit in Greek legend and the ritual of mystery cults was always associated with the notion of fertility. In spite of the fact that Side has a secondary role in Greek mythology, if we pay attention to the details of her myth we shall realize that this personification of the symbol of fecundity has all the fruit's characteristics and properties. If we want to understand the meaning of this particular personification, we must examine the symbolism and the role of pomegranate in Greek tradition.

According to Apollodorus' myth, Side is the wife of Orion. This woman dares to compare her beauty with that of Hera. Her punishment is immediate. Hera's anger condemns the young woman to stay eternally in Hades' kingdom.[1] A later tradition refers to Side as a young virgin who commits suicide in order to avoid the sexual violence of her father. Her blood, shed on her mother's grave, gives birth to a pomegranate tree.[2] We can find in these two myths all the fundamental mythological elements of the pomegranate which identify this fruit with fertility, sex, blood, violence and death. Side's blood causing the birth of a pomegranate tree reminds us of two analogous myths. On the tomb of Menoikeus, who had killed himself of his own free will to save the city of Thebes, there was a pomegranate tree, the interior of whose fruits resembled blood.[3] Similarly, the tomb of the Theban brothers Eteokles and Polyneikes, who had killed each other and one of whom had died for the city, was also represented with a pomegranate tree planted by the Erinyes; its opened fruits were forever dripping with blood.[4] In this way the pomegranate became a living vegetal memorial to

---

* Στη Θεά μου

[1] Apollodorus 1.4.3.

[2] Dionysios, *De Aucupio* 1. 7.

[3] Pausanias 9.25.1.

[4] Philostratus, *Images* 2.29.

From *Personification In The Greek World: From Antiquity To Byzantium*, eds Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Copyright © 2005 by Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Published by Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, UK.

remind people of the curse of fraternal blood shed on paternal earth. In both cases there is a bloody death, a sacrifice for the benefit of the community.

Apart from the virgin Side, we know that Side was also the name of certain cities and the mythological women after whom they were named.[5] A woman probably had to go down to the underworld for the benefit of the community.[6] It is remarkable that the coins of the city of Side in Pamphylia always bore the punning device of a pomegranate, which was, therefore, chosen as the city's emblem.[7] This play on words and meanings is the palpable proof of the fact that in mythology a name is always symbolic and never accidental. A mythological name can be chosen in order to express the nature of the identity of a hero. It can be consequently conceived as a personification of this nature and of its symbolic meanings.

In another tradition concerning the pomegranate's relation with blood and death the women who celebrated the Thesmophoria did not eat the seeds of the pomegranate because they believed that the pomegranate tree sprouted from Dionysos' blood.[8] Finally, the blood of the hermaphrodite monster Agdistis who was castrated by the gods caused a pomegranate tree to grow.[9] In general the red colour of the pomegranate's seeds associated it with blood.[10] The return to life through a vegetal form is a common theme in Greek mythology. The case of Side like so many others generally deals with a return to a tree form which is identified with her name.

Sex is involved in both the myths of Side.[11] Side and Orion are a couple. The choice of Side as Orion's wife is not accidental. Their sexual relationship is associated with fertility. In the agricultural calendar the rising and the setting of the constellations of Orion and the Pleiades indicate the time of the harvest in May and June and the sowing in October and November.[12] It is remarkable that the pomegranates grow and mature at exactly the same period. When the constellation of Orion is at its highest point of the celestial firmament in the middle of September the pomegranates can start to be gathered. The gathering of the pomegranate is continued until the setting of Orion in November. This phenomenon cannot be accidental. Moreover, Orion's zenith is the right moment for the vintage.[13]

---

[5] Paus. 3.22.11, 8.28.3.

[6] For this interpretation see Kerenyi 1967, 139.

[7] Kraay 1976, 275–6, pls 1.15 and 58.1001–02.

[8] Clem. of Alex., *Protr.* 2.22. According to Pausanias (5.19.6) the 'Chest of Kypselos' represents Dionysos with the vine, the apple and the pomegranate tree. For Dionysos' relationship with the pomegranate, see Lazongas 2004, ch. *La Grenade*; Kerenyi 1967, 134–5.

[9] Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes* 5, 5 ff..

[10] Artemidorus, *Oneirocriticon* 1.73.

[11] For commentaries on Side's myth, see Lazongas 2004, ch. *La Grenade*.

[12] Hesiod, *Works and Days* 383–7, 597–603; Brumfield 1981, 19 ff.

[13] Hes., *WD* 609–11; Brumfield 1981, 43–4.

The coincidence of the two gatherings is important. Rhoio (Roiè), the other personification of the pomegranate (ῥοιά means pomegranate) was a daughter of Staphylos, the personification of the grape.

The agricultural connection of Orion's constellation with grapes and wine is also evident in the myth of Oenopion's pursuit by Orion.[14] Oenopion, hidden in the Underworld in order to escape from Orion's anger, is obviously a chthonic deity and his name suggests his direct relation with wine. Oenopion is the son of Dionysos and Ariadne and brother of Staphylos and Ampelos, the personification of the vineyard. According to one tradition, Annios, the son of Rhoio, had three daughters whose names clearly declare the affinity of the pomegranate with grapes and the spirit of fertility.[15] Their names were Oino, the personification of wine; Spermo, the personification of grain and sperm, and Elais, the personification of olive oil.[16]

In general, the presence of the pomegranate's fruit in the erotic life of the Greeks is of extreme interest. The seeds of the pomegranate were considered, not unjustifiably in Greek mentality, to be an aphrodisiac nourishment with magical properties. Pomegranates, like apples and quinces, played a significant role in sexual life and marriage, and were offered by men to women as erotic gifts full of symbolic meanings.[17] This custom can explain the close relationship of the pomegranate with Aphrodite as one of her fundamental attributes in art.[18] In the famous reliefs of Lokroi, Eros himself cuts and offers the aphrodisiac pomegranates to young lovers. On these reliefs we can see young girls gathering apples, quinces and pomegranates on the occasion of a marriage.[19] In the iconography of erotic scenes the presence of the pomegranate is obvious.

According to an ancient Greek proverb the pomegranate belongs to young married couples because the most beautiful offerings are appropriate for the most beautiful beings.[20] The offering of a pomegranate to young married people is a practice that still exists in Greece.[21] They break open the pomegranate on the threshold of the house hoping for fecundity and abundance. For the same reasons the Greeks break open pomegranates at

---

[14] Apoll. 1.4.4.

[15] For the connection of the vine with the pomegranate, see Kerenyi 1967, 134–5.

[16] Diodoros of Sicily 5.62.1–2; Schol. Lycophron 570; Kerenyi 1967, 135.

[17] Lazongas 2004, ch. *La Grenade*; Muthmann 1982, 39–52; Detienne 1977, 99 ff.; Faraone 1990, 219–43; Littlewood 1967, 147–68; Trumpf 1960, 14–22; Verilhac and Vial 1998, 337 ff.; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 410–12.

[18] Lazongas 2004, ch. *La Grenade*; Muthmann 1982, 39–52; Cook 1914–40, vol. 3.817–18. Aphrodite is said to have planted the pomegranate in Cyprus (*FCG* 3.556f Meineke = Athen. 84c).

[19] Zancani-Montuoro 1954, 71–106.

[20] *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* 2.770 (Leutch-Schneidewin).

[21] For commentary and bibliography, see Verilhac and Vial 1998, 343 ff.

the celebration of the New Year or of the purchase of a new house. According to a local tradition of Epidaurus, the peasants break open a pomegranate on the ploughshare of the plough and mingle the seeds of the pomegranate with the grains to be sown in order to achieve the desired prosperity.[22] The numerous seeds of the pomegranate are indisputably the main reason for the connection of this fruit with the notion of fertility. The seeds inevitably remind us of the image of sperm. In myth there are cases which show that the pomegranate's seeds are able to fertilize literally or metaphorically. For instance, Nana, the daughter of the river Sangarios, put a mature pomegranate on her breast and became pregnant by Attis. This pomegranate was the blood product of the monster Agdistis' male genitals.[23]

Pluto offers one or more pomegranate seeds to Persephone in order to seduce her.[24] She succumbs to the temptation of tasting the seed, thereby condemning herself to a periodical return to the Underworld for four months every year. In this case it is evident that we have here an act of sexual magic and a metaphor of sexual union in which the sperm is symbolized by the seed of the pomegranate. As in human sexual life and marriage, the eating of the pomegranate seals the bridal contract. In the myth of Persephone, the fecundity has symbolic value because there is no pregnancy.[25] However, the annual metaphorical death and return to life of Persephone, her periodic seasonal meeting as the spirit of wheat with Demeter on Earth, links the notions of fecundity, love, death and rebirth into a perfect circle. It can be maintained that there are some common points between the story of Persephone and that of the young Side, who avoids rape by her father by committing suicide. We could easily suppose that there is a repetition of the famous rape of Persephone by Pluto. In Side's case, it is the father who replaces the subterranean god in the role of seducer.[26]

An alternative hypothesis would be that the virgin Side prefers to die instead of being raped. She consequently descends to the Underworld virgin and pure like Kore. According to the ancient and modern Greek tradition, for a young girl, especially unmarried, death signifies union and marriage with

[22] Kerenyi 1967, 137.

[23] Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes* 5.5 ff.

[24] One seed: *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 371 ff.; Apoll. 1.33. More than one seed: Ovid, *Fast.* 4.601–07; *Metam.* 5.529–54; Servius, *Virg. Aen.* 4.462; *Virg. Georg.* 1.39. For commentaries on Persephone's myth and the role of the pomegranate, see Foley 1993, 56–7, 88–9, 108–11, 124 ff., 206–07, 237; Lazongas 2004, ch. *La Grenade.*

[25] Persephone is known to have produced a child in later myth and especially in the Orphic tradition: see Foley 1993, 110.

[26] Kerenyi 1967, 139.

Pluto.[27] The death of Side results in her return to life as a spirit of fertility through the pomegranate tree form. Her bridal contract with the king of the Underworld, not accidentally sealed with the pomegranate's ripening, harmonizes her, like Orion's wife and Persephone, with the seasonal circles of vegetal fecundity. Side becomes a 'bride of Hades' like all virgins before marriage and thus is assimilated to her model, Persephone, the real bride of Hades.[28] In Greek mentality dying unmarried means dying unfulfilled. That is why the wedding with the king of the Underworld is considered or invented by the Greeks as a metaphorical fulfilment; that is why there is a need for the tragic resemblance of the funeral ceremony to that of marriage.[29] The assimilation of young virgins as brides of Hades to Persephone, whose persona was closely associated with the pomegranate in Panhellenic myth, can easily be attested by a certain number of grave statues of *korai* holding a pomegranate.[30] Consequently Side's case differs from that of other young virgins. She does not need to hold the pomegranate to indicate her marriage with Pluto. By her transformation she becomes the pomegranate itself.

Concerning the presence of the pomegranate in Greek marriage as an allusion to the sexual act, we can maintain on the one hand that its offering to a young virgin, dead or alive, is conceptualized as a symbolic initiation to the sexual life. On the other hand, the gesture of its offer to the young bride reveals the meaning of the pomegranate's association with blood. In the context of the first sexual initiation, it is logical to conceive of the hymeneal blood, first as connected with the loss of virginity and the rupture of the virginal hymen, and second as connected with the blood of fertility, the menstrual and lochial blood. It is remarkable that in Greek the word ὑμήν defining the virginal hymen is equally used to define the marriage, the nuptial hymn or a ritual scream during this mystery and is etymologically connected with the word ὑμέναιος defining the marriage and the wedding song.[31] Consequently, marriage is a mystery celebrating in its very name the loss of virginity.

The relationship of the pomegranate to fertility and its presence in the ritual of mysteries were the fundamental reasons which probably led

[27] Cook 1914–40, vol. 2 Appendix N, 1163–67. In Greece, even today, a young unmarried woman is dressed during her funeral like a bride in order to be ready for her wedding in the underworld.

[28] On the 'bride of Hades' theme, see commentaries and bibliography in Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 248–52, and Cook 1914–18, vol. 2 Appendix N, 1163–7. See *infra* fig. 4.14 for 'Death the Bride'.

[29] According to Artemidorus' commentaries (*Oneir.* 2.49) marriage and death are the two principal fulfilments of human life and there is a resemblance between the two ceremonies.

[30] For this assimilation and commentary on the *korai*, see Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 248–52 and 265.

[31] Chantraine 1968, 1156.

Pausanias to remark on Hera's Argive statue that holds a pomegranate: 'I will say no more about the pomegranate, because the story connected with it is rather secret.'[32] Apart from the sexual symbolism of the pomegranate's seeds in myth and in the ritual of marriage, the pomegranate was used medicinally for menstruation and pregnancy. In many medical prescriptions, the juice of the pomegranate is recommended for the conception of children or the recovery of the pregnant woman before and after childbirth.[33] The Greeks believed that the same juice had the capacity to stop the menstrual blood,[34] in other words the only period of the month in which the woman is unable to conceive.[35]

The pomegranate was an attribute of Hera as well as of Demeter, in whose hands it had the same value as the poppy, which is equally described as a symbol of fecundity.[36] During the Eleusinian Mysteries and the mysteries of Persephone at Lycosoura, the pomegranate was taboo due to the incident in the story of Kore in the Underworld.[37] The same taboo existed in the case of the Haloa festival at Athens and of the Thesmophoria.[38] The members initiated into Kybele's cult also abstained from pomegranates.[39] At Athens the women who participated in the Thesmophoria were required to abstain from pomegranates and from sexual intercourse.[40] Each night they slept on beds made of *lygos*, a species of withy, which had the double virtue of keeping the sexual impulse in check and scaring away snakes.[41] Since they used the *lygos* as an antidote to sexual activity, we must suppose that they avoided the pomegranate because it was a stimulant.[42] Its bloody colour otherwise could correspond to the blood of fertility – menstrual and lochial blood. The purpose of the Thesmophoria was to fertilize the crops. The festival took place towards the end of October.

---

[32] Paus. 2.17.4.

[33] Hippocrates 8.166 (Littré); Pliny *NH* 23.107.

[34] Pliny *NH* 23.112; Hippocrates 8.192, 8.196 (Littré).

[35] Aristotle *HA* 7.2.582b.1; *GA* 1.19.727b.10–25. According to Aristotle there is a rare case of some women who can conceive only at the opposite period, in other words exclusively during the flow of menstrual blood, cf. *HA* 7.582b.15–17.

[36] For the poppy in general during antiquity, see Kritikos and Papadaki 1963, 80–150. The pomegranate strongly resembles the poppy because of its numerous seeds and its shape, see Lazongas 2004, chs *La Grenade* and *Le Pavot*.

[37] Eleusinian Mysteries: Porphyry, *De Abst.* 4.16; Artemidorus, *Oneir.* 1.73. Lycosura: Paus. 8.37.7.

[38] Haloa: Schol. Luc. *Dial. Mer.* 7.4. Thesmophoria: Clem. of Alex., *Protr.* 2.22.

[39] Julian *Orat.* 5. 174b, 176a.

[40] Clem. of Alex., *Protr.* 2.19.3; Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 2.3.28. On the Thesmophoria, see Deubner 1932, 43–66; Burkert 1985, 242–6; Brumfield 1981, 70–103.

[41] Diodoros 5. 4.7; Plutarch, *Moralia*, 378e.

[42] For the *lygos*, cf. Thomson 1949, 218–20; Detienne 1979, 213–14; Pötscher 1987, 65–83; Pliny, *NH* 24.59; Ael., *NA* 9.26; Hesychios, *s.v.* κνέωρον; Ovid, *Met.* 10. 431–5.

Some time before the festival, the participants had sacrificed a number of pigs and deposited them in a cavern as an offering to Demeter. During the mysteries, while already having kept themselves in a state of purity for three days, they entered the cavern and recovered the decomposed remains which were then mixed with the seed-corn for the autumn sowing.[43] This act is not without significance. The pig was a symbol of fertility because it was believed to be exceptionally prolific.[44] But in a metaphorical way it was a substitute for woman herself. All the Greek words defining pig (like χοῖρος, δέλφαξ, δελφάκιον, ὗς) were used in vulgar language to designate the woman's womb or her *pudenda muliebria*.[45] The word κόκκος, which was often used for the seed of the pomegranate and from which derives the word κόκκινος designating the colour red, was used in the same sense.[46] We know that pig sacrifices took place during the Thesmophoria.[47] So the pig's blood was a surrogate for the woman's menstrual blood and was used to fertilize the seed-corn and to increase the fecundity of the human semen.[48]

In ancient Greek mentality, human fertility is conceptualized in an analogous way. The human embryo is formed by the semen mixed in the womb with the menstrual blood.[49] The pomegranate creates a similar impression. The numerous seeds as substitutes of the male sperm nourished by a red juice as a surrogate for human blood were contained by a womb-like form. This is probably the secret meaning and role of the pomegranate in the mysteries. Moreover, this is the reason why the pomegranate and the poppy were probably also some of the sacred objects included in the holy baskets of the mysteries.[50]

Finally, we can observe that a large part of the sacred role of the pomegranate is probably due to the bisexual character of this fruit.[51] Apart from its general nature (colour, form, content), the pomegranate is equally associated with both sexes. It is always a man's present addressed to a woman, thus suggesting the sexual act. Maybe the close relation of this fruit with hermaphroditic creatures like Agdistis or with beings combining two natures, is not quite accidental, in other words, with divinities whose persona

[43] Schol. Luc., *Dial. Mer.* (2. 1) 7.4. On the symbolism of the Thesmophoria, cf. Thomson 1949, 220–23, Detienne 1979, 191 ff., Foley 1993, 72–5; Lazongas 2004, ch. *La Grenade*; Deubner 1932, 43–66; Brumfield 1981, 70–103.

[44] Schol. Luc, *Dial. Mer.* (2. 1) 7.4.

[45] LSJ, *s.v.*; Lazongas 2004, ch. *La Grenade.*

[46] Hesychios *s.v.* κόκκος.

[47] Bruneau 1970, 285–90; Detienne 1979, 191 ff.

[48] A connection between menstruation and the Thesmophoria is suggested by Thomson 1949, 221ff.; Detienne 1979, 213–14; Lazongas 2004, ch. *La Grenade*; Kerenyi 1975/6, 157; Burkert 1985, 245.

[49] Pliny, *NH* 7.66; Aristotle, *GA* 1.19.727b; 2.24 sq.

[50] Clem. of Alex., *Protr.* 2.22.4; Eitrem 1940, 140 ff.; Lazongas 2004, ch. *La Grenade.*

[51] Foley 1993, 237; Kerenyi 1967, 134 ff.; Lazongas 2004, ch. *La Grenade.*

and character are frequently effeminate or bisexual (Dionysos, Eros, Selene).[52]

The fertilizing magic power of the pomegranate made it the appropriate symbol of Demeter and Persephone, Aphrodite, Athena and the Horai.[53] But according to the testimony of Philostratus the pomegranate was indisputably the attribute of Hera.[54] The famous statue of Hera at Argos is not the only one which represents the pomegranate in her hand as her fundamental attribute. At Olympia, the statue of Milon, who was an athlete and priest of Hera, was holding a pomegranate.[55] Votive archaic statues of Hera holding a pomegranate were found at Paestum, at Foce del Sele and in Boeotia, and votive pomegranates of clay are the most common offerings in the archaic sanctuaries of Hera at Samos, Delos, Argos and Foce del Sele. [56] If we recall the role of Hera as Kourotrophos, protector of marriage and childbirth, combined with the aphrodisiac magical importance of the pomegranate in games of seduction between the two sexes, we can easily understand the close relationship of the goddess with this fruit. Moreover, sometimes Hera's statue (Paestum, Foce del Sele) is depicted holding a child in one hand and a pomegranate in the other, manifesting the prolific power of this fruit.[57] It is certainly not accidental that in this particular case the 'fruits' of human and vegetal reproduction are symbolically exhibited together as gifts of the goddess to human kind.

The myth of Side is another element accentuating the relation of Hera with this red fruit. Orion, whose constellation marks the periods of fertility, is married to the pomegranate-woman, the incarnation of human and vegetal fecundity. We could remark that the ripening of pomegranates, which was completed by the setting of Orion, is not the only coincidence. The sojourn of Persephone in the Underworld occurs simultaneously with the growth of the pomegranate. Pluto offers the famous seed to Persephone the moment before her departure in October, in other words before the sowing during the setting of Orion. The point is that there is a metaphorical sowing before the real one. The punishment of Side during Orion's presence in the firmament

[52] For the effeminate side of Dionysos see Delcourt 1958, 20–22, 39–43, 107 ff.; Lekatsas 1963, 138ff. Eros: Lekatsas 1963, 39 ff.; Alexis fr. 245 Kock (*CAF* II.386 ff.). According some traditions Selene is bisexual, see Lekatsas 1963, 39 ff.; Delcourt 1958, 44 and 114. On the coins of Melos (Gardner 1918) the pomegranate as sacred symbol of Aphrodite is associated with the crescent moon which presents a close relation with fertility, marriage and menstrual blood: see Lekatsas 1963, 39ff. and 74–83; Delcourt 1958, 114.

[53] Muthmann 1982, 64 ff.; Cook 1914–40, vol. 3, 812–14 and 818; Lazongas 2004, ch. *La Grenade*. Athena: Heliodorus fr. 2 = *FHG* 4.425; Oikonomos 1939–41, 97 ff.

[54] Philostratus 4.28. For Hera's close relation with the pomegranate, see Pötscher 1987, 83–93; Lazongas 2004, ch. *La Grenade*; Muthmann 1982, 52–64.

[55] Paus. 4.14.6; Philostratus 4.28.

[56] Muthmann 1982, 52 ff.

[57] Muthmann 1982, 54.

connects the pomegranate directly with the Underworld's coming fertility in the autumn. The mortal arrogance of the personification of fertility was punished and the gifts of her nature were transformed in Hera's hands to a pomegranate, the attribute of her fertilizing power.

We do not know if Apollodorus' myth about Side is an old tradition or an invention of the Hellenistic period. None the less it is evident that this story alludes to the pomegranate's very ancient association with the Underworld and attempts to explain not only its connection with periods of fertility but also its association with Hera as the most appropriate symbol for the goddess of human fecundity. These relationships can be easily attested because the most ancient votive pomegranates were found in tombs and in Hera's geometric sanctuaries. The custom of placing votive pomegranates in tombs exists not only in Greece and Italy but also in other countries of the Mediterranean like Egypt, Israel and Cyprus, and can be dated at least from the Mycenaean period based on archaeological evidence.[58] The pomegranates deposited in tombs are represented sometimes opened, showing their seeds. The offering of pomegranates in tombs during antiquity can be confirmed in the iconography of vases and of funeral monuments or in the funerary paintings of South Italy.[59]

However, the pomegranate is not only nourishment for dead people connected with the Underworld in ancient times. In Greece today there is also an old custom of eating *kollyba* which contains pomegranate seeds mixed with seeds of wheat and dried fruits. Greeks eat this food in memory of dead people and they believe that the presence of the pomegranate's seeds in this *panspermia* signifies not only fertility but also the hope for the resurrection of the soul. It is true that in iconography the pomegranate is often represented with the egg as offerings to the dead, symbolizing a future symbolic resurrection in the afterlife.[60] The egg, like the pomegranate, was a common offering to the dead. In the context of funeral cult this specific combination is apparently not accidental. In ancient Greek tradition the egg and the pomegranate as symbols of fertility were directly connected with the idea of the perpetual alternation of life with death. Their common bisexual nature is probably the reason why they could embody the ideal concept of fecundity

[58] Immerwahr 1989, 397–409; Kourou 1987, 101–16 ff.

[59] Muthmann 1982, 77–92; Lazongas 2004, ch. *La Grenade.*

[60] On the egg's symbolism, see Nilsson 1908, 530–46; Lazongas 2004, ch. *L'œuf*; Robinson 1942, 192 ff. According to Robinson's commentary on the presence of eggs in many Greek tombs, eggs were objects of food: 'If eggs belonged to the dead and were eaten by them their symbolism is probably mixed: eggs are the food of the dead, eaten by them at the funeral feasts, because they are the food of the chthonian deities. They are the food of the chthonian deities because they represent the productive power. Because of their productive power they symbolize resurrection into a new life in Hades.' On the meaning of the combination of eggs and pomegranates in the cult of dead, see Lazongas 2004, ch. *L'œuf.*

in the ancient mentality. Both of them were symbolically identified with sperm and womb harmoniously joined in one body.[61]

It should also be noted that the Orphic Eros, who came out of the cosmogonic egg, was a hermaphrodite like the monster Agdistis from whose male genitals' blood the pomegranate tree sprung. Both of them, as symbols of fecundity including a precious vitality, were considered aphrodisiac nourishments in the context of erotic banquets.[62] On the other hand their consumption was prohibited during the ritual of the mysteries (the egg was prohibited in all Orphic rites),[63] because of the fact that they were both foods destined for the dead. Especially in the case of the festival of Haloa, both egg and pomegranate were included in the same catalogue of forbidden foods.[64]

However, in order to approach the mentality and the meaning of the rites of the mysteries more thoroughly, we need to clarify that abstinence from some foods does not mean their absence during the ritual of a cult. Egg and pomegranate were at the same time cult objects and sacred attributes of gods honoured in the mysteries (Persephone, Demeter, Dionysos).[65] We can maintain that the pomegranates and the eggs which played an important role in funeral cults and mysteries were dedicated to the chthonian divinities and the dead as gifts of gratitude, because it was believed that nourishment, growth and seed derive from them.[66] Both of them, considered as a life-force destined to stimulate the dead, could constitute a kind of surrogate for blood, the most common offering to the chthonians during antiquity.[67] Their symbolic value is more important than that of blood. On the one hand, the traditional close relationship between the pomegranate's juice, form and seeds, and blood, death and fertility is well known. On the other hand, it should be emphasized that the egg as cosmogonic symbol represents above all the principle of life. Blood represents life indeed but it derives from a being that dies, whereas the egg includes life itself and announces the birth of a new being.

The breaking-open of the pomegranate and the offering of these two objects to the chthonians can be interpreted as practices of sympathetic magic. They are conceived as a symbolical return of last year's products to

[61] See Plutarch's commentary on eggs (*Quaest. Conv.* 635e ff.) and Lazongas 2004, ch. *L'œuf.*

[62] Lazongas 2004, ch. *L'œuf.*

[63] Plutarch, *Quaest. Conv.* 635e; *Orphicorum Fragmenta* 291 Kern; Diogenes Laërtius 8.33; Macrobius, *Sat.* 7.16.8.

[64] Schol. Lucian, *Dialogue of the Courtesans*, 6.1.

[65] For the egg as a sacred object in Dionysos' cult and mysteries, see Plutarch, *Quaest. Conv.* 636e; Macrobius, *Sat.* 7.16.8.

[66] Hippocrates, *Regimen* 4.92 (6.558 Littré).

[67] On the offering of blood to the dead, see Burkert 1985, 59–60 and 190–94.

mother Earth and the chthonian gods in order to assure the products of the year to come. In this way the participants in the mysteries and the funeral cults engrave a circle of life alternating with death; they return the principles of life to those who gave them life. The prohibition of the pomegranate and the egg can probably be explained by the following: the possible consumption of symbols of life could signify the destruction of life itself and might jeopardize the communication between chthonians and mortals which guarantees prosperity and fertility. We can finally claim that the combination of these symbols in the context of cults related to the chthonians was a brilliant conception. In this way if the pomegranate with its numerous seeds represents the wealth and the reproductive generative power of the vegetal world, the egg symbolizes the perpetual reproduction of the animal kingdom.

In conclusion, we can maintain that Side as personification of the pomegranate does not become Orion's wife accidentally. The couple incarnates in a very symbolic way the marriage of the astral world's movement, which brings fertility and controls its rhythms, to a very beautiful woman who represents the fecundity of the vegetal world. As a result of the astrological influence of Orion's presence in the sky, the abundance could never be symbolized more appropriately than by the ripening of the pomegranate. This couple connecting a celestial male element with an earthly female one is analogous to the union of Persephone and Pluto, which connects the earthly female spirit of wheat with the infernal male incarnation of wealth. The intervention of the pomegranate bringing fertility is always symbolically definitive in all divine bridal contracts as well as in all human marriages. This fertility has the divine guarantee of Hera in the form of the transformed Side, the eternal emblem of the goddess's power.

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

8

Personified abstractions in Laconia: suggestions on the origins of Phobos

Nicolas Richer

Following Homer,[1] in the classical period Thucydides[2] and Plato[3] defined austerity in terms which constitute what we would call 'laconism'. More particularly, the capacity for conceptualization which is at the root of laconism also expresses itself in the way in which the Spartans made abstract entities into divinities. It is especially ideas designating states of the body (*pathemata*) which are honoured at Sparta, and this importance of the *pathemata* is characteristic of the constant effort the Spartans made to live in accordance with principles which they thought reasonable. I have discussed the importance of these abstract entities at Sparta elsewhere,[4] but here let me simply outline what they are.

Plutarch, when describing a sanctuary of Phobos,[5] states that the Lacedaemonians have sanctuaries 'not only of Fear (Phobos) but also of Death (Thanatos), of Laughter (Gelos) and of other states of this sort (*kai toioutôn allôn pathematôn hiera*)'. *Pathemata* other than those mentioned by Plutarch can indeed be found at Sparta; such states which take hold of the body are Modesty (or Shame, Aidôs), Sleep (Hypnos), Love (Eros), Hunger

The author is very grateful to Emma Stafford for having kindly undertaken the task of translating his paper.

[1] *Iliad* 3.213–15.

[2] Thuc. 1.86.1. On laconism in speech, cf. Francis (1991–93).

[3] *Protagoras*, 342a–343b, on which cf. Richer 2001.

[4] Richer 1998a, 217–33, on the role of the ephors in connection with the behavioural regulations especially associated with Phobos and Eros; Richer 1999, on Aidôs, Gelôs and Phobos; Richer 1998b, on the variety of forms of Eros, on Hypnos, Thanatos and Limos, on the possible role of Chilon, in the mid-sixth century, in the sytematisation of the cult of the *pathemata*, on Xenophon's presentation of Agesilas II seen through the prism of the *pathemata*.

[5] *Cleomenes* 9.1. The term *hieron* unambiguously designates a building consecrated to Phobos, according to *Cleomenes* 8.3–4. On Phobos, cf. especially Shapiro 1993, 208–15, and Boardman 1994.

From *Personification In The Greek World: From Antiquity To Byzantium*, eds Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Copyright © 2005 by Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Published by Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, UK.

(Limos).[6] It appears that the Spartans wanted to propitiate these entities which had a hold over individuals; Phobos was honoured with a cult in a particular location at Sparta,[7] as Eros was at Leuctra.[8] As far as the other *pathemata* are concerned, we hear mention of iconographic representations of them which might be called *hiera* and which suggest the existence of religious acts, but we do not know of cult spaces specifically dedicated to them.[9]

A problem which these cults of *pathemata* raise is of course that of their origins. Amongst the most important *pathemata*, Eros has already been extensively studied: he is often characterized as a primordial power and he appears in numerous locations in Greece.[10] As far as Aidôs is concerned, we may accept that, as Hani has suggested,[11] it is extremely probable that the very conceptualisation of an idea perceived as capable of influencing men's and women's behaviour only shortly preceded the establishment of her cult.[12] The cult devoted to Aidôs in Laconia is chiefly attested by an *aition*, an explanatory tale, transmitted by Pausanias,[13] which puts the origins of the cult in the time of Odysseus and Penelope. The case of Phobos is more particular, and more specific to Sparta, and it would not seem to fit the same explanatory framework: Plutarch supplies Phobos with a very specific origin, according to a process which does not seem inherently unlikely. The writer from Chaironeia in fact states: 'the Lacedaemonians established a sanctuary of Fear near to the ephors' dining room, when they elevated this office nearly as high as a monarchy.'[14]

It would thus be in a period which we could date approximately to the seventh or sixth century BC that the cult of Phobos seems to have been established at Sparta. It is with an examination of this question that I propose to proceed here, first noting the variety of aspects of Phobos at Sparta, then considering a divine power with characteristics close to those of Phobos, namely Pan. Phobos, as we shall see, seems in Laconia to have undergone a development which is linked to that of Pan.

---

[6] Thirst (Dipsa) seems not to be attested as a *pathema* honoured with a *hieron* or with an iconographic representation.

[7] Plutarch, *Cleomenes* 8.3–4.

[8] Pausanias 3.25.5.

[9] Richer 1999, 92–3.

[10] On Eros in general, cf. e.g. Brisson 1981; Hermary, Cassimatis and Vollkomer 1986; Vernant 1989; Misdrachi-Capon 1989; Calame 1996; Zeitlin 1996.

[11] Hani 1992, 61–72.

[12] On the concept of *aidôs* attested from the eighth century BC in Homer, cf. Cairns 1993, 48-146. On the 'theology of personification', cf. Stafford 2000, 19–27.

[13] 3.20.10–11. Cf. Richer 1999.

[14] *Cleomenes* 9.7.

The variety of Phobos' aspects at Sparta

Fear clearly assumes a double value: Phobos has at the same time a military character (he puts enemies to flight, and indeed inspires the Spartiates' obedience to their own leaders on the battlefield) and a political aspect (he assures the citizens' respect for the political order).

Phobos' complexity is probably partly the result of a development in the life of the city of Sparta,[15] and of a process of reflection on the place which ought to be attributed to him – and likewise to Aidôs, Modesty.[16] It is possible that the introduction of the Homeric poems to Laconia, placed around 700 by Cartledge,[17] contributed to the establishment of this cult: we can imagine that Phobos, son of Ares, was recognized at the same time as his brother Deimos, Terror: both are Ares' usual acolytes in battle.[18] Moreover, the establishment of a cult of Phobos – which we do not hear of elsewhere in Greece – could only have been possible in Laconia because the terrain there was suitable, because this cult responded to a need felt locally, probably due especially to the importance of things military at Sparta. For, on the evidence of Tyrtaeus,[19] Phobos' earliest attested value – which must be the first – is military rather than political. Consequently we can ask ourselves whether the cult mentioned by Plutarch in connection with the events of

[15] The double character of Fear is not, in fact, a feature fundamentally original to Sparta: the Hittites distinguished between fear and reverent fear (Friedrich, 1954–55, and Puhvel, 1977, 397, where a relationship is established with *Deimos* and *Phobos*); this distinction could eventually be related to that which exists between Phobos/Phyge who puts enemies to rout and Phobos close to Aidôs who inspires obedience. Moreover, we might note that an analogous situation is known in Umbria, according to Dumézil (1981, 78; cf. also 2000, 255–6): in the Iguvine Tables (from Iguvium, modern Gubbio), 'two goddesses of panic are distinguished [cf. VIIa 47 and VIb 61] who are desired to invade the enemy, *Tursa Jouia* and *Tursa Martia*; they express the two forms or sources of 'terror' which Jupiter and Mars can inflict, each according to his essence (magic, power).' It seems further notable that mention is made, in the same document (IIa 20–21), of the sacrifice of a dog to Hondus Jovius as, at Sparta, young men sacrifice two young dogs to Enyalios, at the Phoibaion near Therapne (Pausanias 3.14.9). Finally, we may note that at Rome itself Pavor is distinguished from Pallor (cf. Livy 1.27.7; cf. also Servius ad *Aen.* 8.285; Lactantius 1.20).

[16] On Aidôs cf. Richer 1999, and on the role eventually played by Chilon, in the mid-sixth century, in the systematization of the cult of the *pathemata*, cf. Richer 1998b, 23–4 and 1998a, 232.

[17] Cartledge 2002, 88–9. On the way in which Hesiod, likewise in the archaic period but in Boeotia, sought to remedy the inadequacies of the Greek vocabulary for expressing abstract ideas, cf. Péron 1976.

[18] *Iliad* 4.440, 11.37, 15.119. Phobos also appears as companion of Ares in 13.299, and in Hesiod, *Shield* 195; Aeschylus, *Sept.* 45. On Phobos' and Deimos' links with Ares, cf. Mactoux 1993, 269–70. The two concepts are known elsewhere at Sparta, if we can judge by Libanios addressing Critias: the Lacedaemonians are said to feel *phobos* and *deima* towards their helots (Libanios, *Orationes* 25.64. Diels-Kranz, *Vorsokratiker* 88 [Critias], fr. 37, *apud* Libanios, *Orationes* 25.63).

[19] Fr. 7 Prato (10 West), v. 16.

227 BC, that is, the *coup d'État* of Cleomenes III, of an abstract idea like Phobos, does not belong to a continuation of earlier cult practices.

Recalling that the 'tendency for troops in close formation suddenly to disintegrate entirely was ... well known', Hanson points out that for this reason 'the Greeks attributed this driving to disruption to the god Phobos, Fear, and later, in the fourth century, to Pan (cf. the English "panic").'[20] This importance of fear in battle has also been emphasized, for example, by Loraux,[21] and it could allow us to suggest a justification for an etymology proposed for the term *polemos*, meaning war. According to Chantraine, *polemos* must be connected to the root of the verb *pelemizein*, 'to tremble, be shaken'; *polemos* is the word for the action corresponding to this verb but, it is emphasized, the semantic relationship of the two terms is 'difficult to specify'.[22] We might suggest that it is the importance and the frequency of fear in the practice of battle which explains how this could be the etymology of *polemos*. The development proposed by Hanson,[23] whereby Phobos would have been abandoned in favour of Pan, does not appear to be certain, at least as far as Sparta's case is concerned. Indeed, we might speculate whether at Sparta Phobos did not rather supplant Pan. In this connection an episode deserves our attention which shows the role of Pan in war at the beginning of the fifth century.

The establishment of Pan's cult at Athens

At the time when, in 490, the Athenians sent nine thousand hoplites to Marathon, they despatched to Sparta a long-distance runner, or *hemerodromos*, called Phidippides (or Philippides); this messenger was supposed to ask for military aid.[24] He presented his message to the Spartans the day after he had left Athens. He arrived in Sparta on the 10th Boedromion, the day of the Karneia. The Spartans let it be known that they could not despatch troops before the full moon on 16th Boedromion. As it would take more than two days to march to Marathon,[25] this meant that the Athenians could not count on Spartan help for at least seven days. Phidippides could only return to Marathon and deliver the bad news. His situation was unenviable, as Garland points out.[26] His journey from Athens to Sparta, of 1200 stades,[27] about 220 kilometres, had ended in failure. But,

[20] Hanson 1989, 103 and cf. more generally 96–104.

[21] Loraux 1989, ch. 4, 'Crainte et tremblement du guerrier', pp. 92–107 and 331–33.

[22] Chantraine 1968–80, 875.

[23] On the idea of a development from Phobos to Pan, cf. previously Bernert, 1941, col. 313 and Gallini 1961, 233.

[24] Herodotus 6.105. On the likelihood of an errand such as Phidippides', cf. e.g. Lee 1984.

[25] Herodotus 6. 120; Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 87.

[26] Garland 1992, 48.

[27] Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 87.

during his return journey – Herodotus is imprecise on this point which is crucial for us, but Garland is convinced that it was during his return – an extraordinary event occurred. As he was passing over Mount Parthenion, in Arcadia, not far from Tegea, in an inhospitable region about fifty kilometres north of Sparta, he was accosted by Pan. The goat-footed god fell on him (*peripiptei*), calling him by name and ordering him 'to ask the Athenians on his behalf why they did not pay him any attention, when he wished them well, and had already rendered them services on many occasions and would render them service again'.[28] Finally, according to Garland, when the Athenians' numerical inferiority at the battle of Marathon should have been compensated for by Spartan reinforcements, in the event it was compensated for by the help of Pan.

Borgeaud suggests that Pan's intervention at Marathon could have been supposed to consist in throwing the Persians' manœuvres of reembarkation into disorder, so that the Athenians could get ahead of them to Phaleron, where they intended to land next.[29] Accepting this hypothesis, Garland suggests we should also consider that Pan might have been supposed to have intervened at the point of the Athenian charge against the Persians: according to Herodotus' account, the Athenians kept their compact formation without being 'seized by fear (*phobos*)'.[30] So, according to Herodotus, fear did not paralyse the Athenians;[31] on the contrary, the Persians were at least disconcerted by the Athenians' audacity. Garland thus suggests 'that the cult of Pan, the god of panic, was introduced into Athens as a way of explaining how *phobos*, which we might appropriately render as panic, descended ... upon the vastly superior Persians'.[32] We might even perhaps add that since it was by attacking the enemy at a run that the Athenians gained their victory, this was a good reason for them to attribute this success to the god who had appeared to Phidippides, for Pan son of Hermes is a patron of runners.[33]

---

[28] Herodotus 6.105. The military character of the assistance brought by Pan to the Athenians is, according to Jost (1985, 472), emphasized by the other texts which mention the episode (Pausanias 1.28.4, 8.54.6; Lucian, *Double accusation* 9; *Souda s.v.* 'Ιππίας). According to Parker (1996, 167), 'Philippides ... surely met Pan because, amid the mountains of Arcadia, he felt himself far and frighteningly removed from his own familiar home.'

[29] Borgeaud 1988, 136.

[30] Herodotus 6.112.

[31] On fear as provoked by Pan, cf. e.g. Pausanias 10.23.7–8 (Pan's intervention against the Galatians in 278 near Delphi: *phobos sphisin empiptei Panikos ... he ... ek tou theou mania*).

[32] Garland 1992, 53. In the same vein, Parker (1996, 167) notes that 'fear and danger are certainly' in the representation of wild Pan. Lonis (1979, 182–3) rejects the idea of a 'panic' due to Pan applicable to the fifth century, while Jost (1985, 473) prudently notes that 'the action credited to Pan during the Persian Wars remains ill-defined'.

[33] Borgeaud 1988, 133–4.

The Pan of Marathon and the Spartan Phobos

Taking the argument further, we can note that, on his return from Sparta, Phidippides proposed to the Athenians the introduction of a cult of which the effects must have been analogous to those of the Spartan cult of Phobos; Phobos is in fact particularly conceived at Sparta as the Rout who assures the enemy's flight.[34] From this the idea naturally follows that the Spartan authorities could have suggested to Phidippides that he recommend the introduction of Pan's cult to Athens because Pan was an important divinity of Arcadia, traversed by Phidippides,[35] and because Pan seemed to be the non-Spartan divine entity closest to Phobos – whose character would have been difficult to export, as the Spartans would have realized.[36] It is probable that the 'archons' whom, according to Herodotus, Phidippides saw at Sparta were the ephors, and it was in the immediate vicinity of, or even inside, their meeting place that the sanctuary of Phobos was situated.[37] Even if we reject the hypothesis that the authorities at Sparta had a direct influence on the establishment of the cult of Pan at Athens, however, we can still retain the theory that the *aition* for the introduction of the cult to Athens could have been inspired by the known importance of Phobos at Sparta.[38]

Notwithstanding Borgeaud, who says that 'panic attacks an army at rest; it sows disorder in an army while it is encamped, not while it is fighting',[39] Jost

[34] Richer 1998a, 219–21 and 1999, 97–9. On *phobos*, 'rout', related to other Indo-European words of the same meaning, cf. Chantraine (1968–80, 1184).

[35] On Arcadia as Pan's favourite domain (especially from the fourth century) cf. Jost 1985, 456–76; Pan was worshipped in Arcadia at least from the sixth century, for instance at Berekla (p. 456). We can add that the god's theriomorphism seems rather to plead in favour of his great antiquity. An ephiphany of Pan localized on Mount Parthenion in Arcadia might then appear natural (on the exact location, Pausanias 8.54.6). In spite of Borgeaud (1988, 179), for whom Pan's appearance in Arcadia belongs to a 'symbolic system developed in the classical period', Jost maintains 'that the Pan attested in Arcadia from the fifth century to the Roman period is still Arcadian in the full sense of the term' (p. 457). Hauvette (1894, 255–6, n.1) supposes that Phidippides, well received by the Tegeans, would have been inspired by their devotion to Pan. Indeed, Parthenion was rich in tortoises sacred to Pan (Pausanias 8.54.7).

[36] Wide (1893, 238) notes that the cult of Pan as such hardly appears to have been practised in Laconia. Borgeaud expresses a similar opinion when he says (1988, 162) that 'from the sixth century onward Arcadia, Pan's homeland, confronted oligarchic Sparta as a land experimenting with democracy ... Pan himself ... made plain his preference for the democratic side.'

[37] Plutarch, *Cleomenes* 8.3–4.

[38] In Nonnos' *Dionysiaka* (14. 81), albeit a fifth-century AD work, Phobos is the name of one of the twelve Pans who are sons of a primordial Pan. Moreover, if Aidôs can be assimilated to Penelope (Pausanias 3.20.10–11 with Richer 1999) and Phobos to a Pan, a few ancient sources (e.g. Herodotus 2.145; Lucian, *Dialogues of the Gods* 22) make Penelope [here Aidôs] the mother of Pan [here Phobos]. But 'the links which would unite Penelope with the goat-god remain obscure' (Jost 1985, 463, who admits Borgeaud's prudence in hesitating [1988, 210–11 n.77] between 'relatively late elaborations' and 'enigmatic vestiges of a very ancient mythology').

[39] Borgeaud 1988, 136 (and cf. 99, 101, 125–6).

points out that such a 'thesis is surprising',[40] notably because Artemis, like Pan, is a divinity of a wild nature, protector of hunters, and because the Athenians sacrificed five hundred goats to Artemis every year to thank her for her intervention at Marathon:[41] so, then, it seems possible to see in Pan a divinity who may be supposed to act on the battlefield. It is by his mode of action that he is characterized, and it seems possible to envisage that this might be panic.[42] Linking the origin of the god to his *modus operandi*, Aeneas Tacticus supposed,[43] in the fourth century AD, that panic (*to paneion*) was a term of Peloponnesian origin, and more particularly Arcadian.

It appears to be clear, then, that fear in battle could be understood at the beginning of the fifth century as due to Pan or to Phobos, according to where you were. Moreover, if Pan was not known at Sparta in the classical period, he was very probably known there earlier.

Possible traces of Pan in Laconia

A) Some figurines from the sanctuary of Orthia (fig. 8.1)

Pan must in fact have been known at Sparta in the seventh to sixth century if we can judge by 'a collection of figurines representing billy-goats standing on their hind legs, in a human posture, dating to the end of the seventh century BC' whose existence is noted by Borgeaud.[44] But, while admitting that these figurines represent dancers and that 'dance and music are among Pan's most fundamental traits',[45] Borgeaud, taking into account 'the near nonexistence of evidence for a cult of Pan in Laconia', is of the opinion 'that these "goats" should not be called "Pans", even if they belong to a religious sphere impinging on Arcadia and Pan'.[46] But such an understanding seems to me to neglect the fact that Pan's great speciality is precisely that he is, for the Greeks, a remarkable (but not unique) case of theriomorphism. It seems to me that this animal appearance would have been so striking that, in a religious context like that of the sanctuary of Orthia, a standing, dancing billy-goat would have had a strong chance of calling Pan to mind (and the

[40] Jost 1985, 473, where references supporting this surprise are gathered (and cf. *supra* n. 32).

[41] Xenophon, *Anabasis* 3.2.12.

[42] Borgeaud himself declares (1981, 232) that 'ancient interpretations of panic ... refer to the god'.

[43] *Siegecraft* 27. 1.

[44] Borgeaud 1988, 86. These objects were found at the sanctuary of Orthia: Wace 1929, especially p. 262 and pl. CLXXXIV, 19. A single type of billy-goat figurine appears during the period 700–635 BC (an example of the same type in Fitzhardinge 1980, 118, fig. 150). It seems that later three types existed, two new ones during the period 635–600 BC (Wace, 269 and pl. CLXXXIX, 23–5). It is a pity that the number of examples is not specified, as that would give us an idea of Pan's place in the Spartan imagination (if, that is, these billy-goats should indeed be interpreted as referring to the goat-footed god).

[45] Borgeaud 1988, 86.

[46] Borgeaud 1988, 209–10 n.64.

billy-goat appearance is so strongly linked to Pan that he shares it with his Indian equivalent Pusán[47]). Moreover, these figurines are all the more likely to represent Pan since a representation of one god could be dedicated to another divinity. Specifically, Alroth notes on the one hand that Pan can be Artemis' 'visitor' (for example, at Lusoi, in Arcadia, in the fifth century) and, on the other, that at Amyclae, in the sanctuary of Apollo, figurines of Athena and Artemis have been found.[48] We can then suggest that Pan is able, in Laconia, to visit Orthia, since Pan appears elsewhere as visitor of Artemis (who can herself be assimilated to Orthia) and since in Laconia itself the practice of the 'visit' of one god to another is attested.

B) Their date

According to Boardman's chronology,[49] the date of the objects representing the standing billy-goats found at the sanctuary of Orthia must be modified (Borgeaud overlooks the fact)[50]: the objects of Laconian I should be dated to 650–20 instead of 700–635 and those of Laconian II to 620–570/560 instead of 635–600. Since it was around 570 that the sanctuary of Orthia was flooded,[51] and since the figurines which we are supposing to represent Pan do not reappear later,[52] we might suggest that the submersion of the sanctuary was the occasion of a religious reorganization. This flood could have been brought about by an exceptional event such as the earthquake forecast by Anaximander, which took place in the first half of the sixth century.[53] We might agree that an earthquake accompanied by the destruction of an important sanctuary[54] could have provoked, around 570, a psychological shock with religious implications.[55] Moreover, the name of one man stands out in the history of Sparta at this period – the name of Chilon.

---

[47] Bader 1989, 27.

[48] Alroth 1987.

[49] Boardman, 1963.

[50] Borgeaud 1988, 86.

[51] Dawkins 1929, 16. On the date, Boardman 1963, 4.

[52] Images unambiguously representing Pan are known in Laconia, but they are from the Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods (Delivorrias, 1969). We may further note that Laconian bronze figurines representing a character close to Pan – but who is not him – in this case Silenus, are known around 540–30 BC (Herfort-Koch 1986, K151: Silenus dancing, from the Spartan acropolis; and K152: Silenus running, from the Amyclaion) and around 530–520 BC (Silenus feasting: Herfort-Koch, K147–150, all four from Olympia).

[53] Richer 1998a, 182 n. 179.

[54] Pliny (*Natural History* 2.191) reports the collapse of an enormous section of Taygetus onto Sparta during this earthquake (the theme also appears *à propos* the quake of 464 [Plutarque, *Cimon* 16 and scholium on Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 1144]; cf. Ducat 1983, 75–8).

[55] A clear example of a link between a natural catastrophe and a feeling of collective guilt is supplied by the earthquake of 464 at Sparta: Thucydides 1.128.1: 'The Lacedaemonians had in the past raised up some helot suppliants from the altar of Poseidon (at Taenaron), and had taken them away and killed them. They believe that the great earthquake in Sparta was the result of

Possible role of Chilon in the establishment of the cult of Phobos

It is in fact at about this time that Chilon is supposed to have been ephor,[56] and it is possible that it is to this very moment that Plutarch makes reference when he clearly relates the establishment of Phobos' cult to the attribution of an important political role to the *ephoreia*.[57] If we can judge by the apparent obliteration of Pan, and by the subsequent importance of Phobos endowed, as we have seen, with characteristics analogous to those of Pan, Chilon could have been the principal author, if not of the introduction of this abstract cult to Sparta,[58] in any case of the clear increase in its importance.[59] It appears entirely possible that Phobos, who until then had had above all a military value, thereafter took on a political character as well. This mutation must have been accompanied by a disappearance of the figure of Pan,[60] to whom the political connotation could not be attached.

Moreover, we might note that, for the Spartans, to adopt a cult of Phobos while renouncing devotion to Pan, could have been a means of getting rid of aspects of Pan which did not interest them: in Arcadia, Pan is a god of shepherds, a patron of the hunting of small prey,[61] and the former activity cannot have interested the Spartiates (or not any more) after around 570, since they dedicated themselves essentially to political and military activities. The raising of small stock, which is Pan's sphere, was doubtless hardly practised any more, except by the Inferiors;[62] as to the second area,

---

this.' Furthermore, we know of other abrupt cult changes, as at Sicyon where, according to Herodotus (5.67), the tyrant Cleisthenes (who ruled c. 600–570 BC) transferred to the hero Melanippus the sacrifices and festivals of the hero Adrastus.

[56] Chilon may also have been, in 556/5, the first (eponymous?) ephor or have been the first to establish matrimonial links between the royal families and the families of the ephors (Richer 1998a, 131-2). The role played by Chilon at Sparta before his exercise of the *ephoreia* would explain why, according to Diogenes Laërtius (1.68 with Richer 1998a, 120 n.26), his brother would have been indignant at not seeing him become ephor.

[57] Plutarch, *Cleomenes* 9.7 (excerpt quoted *supra*, p. 112).

[58] The presence of Phobos at Sparta seems to be attested already in Tyrtaeus, in the middle of the seventh century (fr. 7 Prato [10 West], v. 16).

[59] Cartledge (2002, 120) thinks that Chilon could have been responsible for the establishment of the cult in honour of Menelaos, known c. 550 at Amyclae.

[60] Certainly, when addressing a Spartan herald, the prytanis put on stage in 411 by Aristophanes in *Lysistrata* 997–8, asks his interlocutor if the evil which has fallen upon Sparta has come from Pan (... *hymin enepesen? Apo Panos?*), but here it is clearly a question of a humorous allusion made by an Athenian and which is based on Pan's sexual reputation: *ton Pana timan* ('to honour Pan'), as Borgeaud (1988, 75) points out, means to practise male homosexuality. It seems clear that from the middle of the sixth century as in the classical period, Pan is scarcely (no longer?) known in Laconia, except at Cape Malea (Callimachus fr. 412 Schneider).

[61] Jost 1985, 467–72 (and 472–3 on Pan and war in Arcadia).

[62] On the helots as rural slaves, cf. Ducat 1990, 53–4 and Hodkinson 2000, 113–49 (especially 133–4 on animal husbandry).

'the sphere where the influence of Pan held sway is much more modest that the domain of the huntress par excellence, Artemis',[63] whose equivalent Orthia was the object of a cult very well attested at Sparta. So, to abandon worship of Pan in favour of a cult devoted to Phobos can be understood in a social context marked by little interest in the activities of Pan's sphere, other than the military.

If we reconsider the Plutarch passage already cited, it is possible to think that it was not so much the establishment of a cult place for Phobos which is said by Plutarch to be a novelty linked to the reinforcement of the political position of the ephors. It would rather be the establishment of this cult place in proximity to the ephors' meeting-place, the *ephoreion*, which would be the novelty. Phobos, having now assumed not only a military function but also a political value, would from now on have been honoured at the very heart of the principal political power. Further, we could suggest, following Wide,[64] that the Phoibaion at Therapne, a few kilometres to the south-east of Sparta, which is mentioned by Herodotus and by Pausanias,[65] might have been a sanctuary of Phobos before being dedicated to Apollo Phoibos or to the Leucippid Phoibe, perhaps by a play on words, and in any case at the point when the Phobaion devoted to Phobos was established near the *ephoreion*.

A desire to reject Arcadian influence?

The middle of the sixth century is moreover a time of conflict between the Spartans and their Arcadian neighbours the Tegeans.[66] The rejection of the figure of Pan is perhaps, then, for the Spartans a way of distinguishing themselves clearly from neighbours who are impossible to put down, and who have even been victorious over them.[67] The Arcadians seem to have had an analogous attitude towards the Lacedaemonians.[68] It is only later,

[63] Jost 1985, 470. On hunting in Laconia cf. Xenophon, *Resp. Lac.*, 6.3–4, and on hunting as a preparation for war, Xenophon, *On Hunting* 12.

[64] 1893, 276; cf. also Lonis 1979, 119–20.

[65] Herodotus 6. 61; Pausanias 3.14.9.

[66] Herodotus 1.65–6.

[67] Herodotus 1.66 (with Cartledge 2002, 118). Even at the beginning of the fifth century, the Spartan king Cleomenes could scare his compatriots by uniting the Arcadians against them (Herodotus 6. 74).

[68] It seems clear that the Arcadians refused to submit to Lacedaemonian influence in the religious sphere: immediately after mentioning the importance of the phases of the moon for the Lacedaemonians, Lucian says (*Astrology* 26): 'but the Arcadians alone have not accepted this and have no respect for astrology, and through folly and lack of wisdom they say that they were born before the moon' (cf. also Ovid, *Fasti* I.469 and II.290). We can see here the Arcadians' refusal to submit to the influence of Spartan religion (marked by the according of great importance to the lunar calendar, cf. Richer 1998a, 174 n.123), perhaps through awareness of what in other cases are Arcadian cults which could have influenced the Lacedaemonians (on the Arcadians' pretensions to be the only autochthonous inhabitants of the Peloponnese,

notably perhaps when good relations had been established with the Tegeans, now allies of Sparta, that a policy called 'philo-Achaean' by modern scholars[69] was established at Sparta. But the break marked by the absence of Pan in Laconia (and the absence of Phobos in Arcadia) endured, even if Phidippides' journey may have been the ephemeral occasion of a kind of reconciliation between the two figures, of Pan and Phobos ... in Attica.

Concluding remarks

By itself, the establishment of the figure of Phobos in place of that of Pan may attest a preference for the abstract over the concrete. At Sparta the development of Phobos seems typical of a marked predilection for personified abstractions. Of course, the idea of making Fear into a personification in battle is already present in the eighth century, in Homer, but Phobos' invasion of the political domain is something which seems very characteristic of Sparta in the sixth century. It is a phenomenon which fits into the organization of the Spartiate way of life at this period, in a deliberately rational manner (in the context of ideas of the time[70]). At another level, the simplicity of speech attributed to the Spartans, which in Plato's opinion reflected an admirable profundity of thought, is part of the *diaita* referred to by Thucydides,[71] a rational and voluntarily regulated way of life. The abandonment of the theriomorphic Pan in favour of the *pathema* Phobos seems to belong in this context, where the citizens of Sparta have to be in full control over themselves in order best to serve the collective. The aim of the mental system thus constructed is to ensure that everyone always has guidelines by which to behave his best; everyone acts according to the abstract principles, the *pathemata*, which allow him to obey the absolute sovereign who reigns at Sparta: *nomos*, the law.[72]

---

cf. Xenophon, *Hellenica* 7.1.23; Pausanias 5.1.2; on the Arcadians as the first people born of the earth, cf. Plutarch, *Moralia* 286a). According to Jost 1985, it seems that Phobos was unknown in Arcadia.

[69] Nafissi 1991, 140–44.

[70] Cf. for example the probable usage of astronomical phenomena to regulate the calendar, from the middle of the sixth century: Richer 1998a, 155–98.

[71] Thucydides 1.6.4.

[72] Herodotus 7.104: *despotes nomos*. The principle of devotion to the city is itself clearly invested with a transcendent value, if we can judge, for example, by the erection of a statue to Demos at Sparta (Pausanias 3.11.10) – unfortunately, the date of the erection is difficult to determine; Kourinou (2000, 128 and note 406) dates this statue to the Hellenistic period.

Fig. 8.1 Lead figurine of a standing billy-goat from the Spartan sanctuary of Orthia, preserved height 4.6 cm.

9

Situational aesthetics: the deification of Kairos, son of Hermes*

Arlene Allan

Unlike most of the other abstract concepts that are personified, and even deified, in ancient Greece, Kairos is not to be found among the lists of powers in Hesiod's *Theogony*, said to have been generated during the foundations of the world-order. Rather, his is a power born of a much later generation, raised from qualifier to noun and, finally, to divinity sometime in the mid-fifth century.[1]

Our evidence for his deification this early is scanty, limited to a brief passage in Pausanias and an archaeological find at the ancient site of Elea on the southwest coast of Italy.[2] Pausanias, at Olympia, tells us that 'At the entrance to the *stadion* there are two altars, one of Hermes *Enagônios* and the other that of Kairos.' He continues, 'I know of a Hymn to Kairos by Ion of Khios in which he gives the genealogy of Kairos as the youngest of the sons of Zeus' (5.14.9.2–7; cf. *PMG* 742). The *stadion* to which Pausanias refers is the Classical *stadion*, the third and final redesign (or relocation) of the race-track, dated to the late 450s by archaeological work at the site,[3] perhaps itself resulting from the construction of the new Temple to Zeus completed some time before 457.[4] It is likely, therefore, that both altars were contemporaneous with the building of the *stadion* and, thus, were in place by

* I wish the acknowledge the Leventis Foundation in their generous support of my doctoral research at the University of Exeter during the course of which the research for this paper was undertaken.

[1] For discussion of the linguistic aspects of personification cf. Stafford 2000, Shapiro 1993, Dietrich 1988, Gombrich 1971, Webster 1954.

[2] For the time being, I am disregarding the famous statue by Lysippos which is clearly fourth century, although it will inform the discussion of Kairos' attributes (below, pp. 102–03).

[3] Golden 1998, 21–3.

[4] Based on Paus 5.10.2, Morgan (1990, 18) infers that the temple must have been completed or almost wholly completed by this date for the Spartans to have been able to hang their commemorative dedication on the gable.

From *Personification In The Greek World: From Antiquity To Byzantium*, eds Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Copyright © 2005 by Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Published by Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, UK.

the end of the 450s or shortly thereafter. As to the Hymn familiar to Pausanias, as with most of Ion's writings it is unfortunately lost. However, we do know that its author was a prolific writer who travelled extensively throughout the Greek world, visiting Athens and the Peloponnese during the middle decades of the fifth century.[5] Pausanias' citation of Ion of Khios as the composer of a hymn in honour of Kairos indicates that the deification of this abstract concept took place no later than the mid-fifth century and it was suggested long ago that Ion's Hymn may have been written for the dedication ceremony of the altar to Kairos at Olympia.[6]

The evidence from Elea points to the fifth century as well for the erection of a *stele* with the inscription 'Olympian Kairos' on its face.[7] Located in a small *temenos* along with two others, one naming Zeus Oúrios, the other a certain Pompaios, this trio of divinities has been identified as a group of navigational gods believed to have been so honoured by the seafaring, trading people of Phokaia who founded the colony around 540.[8] We thus have a coincidence of two objects of cult – the hymn and the *stele* – and quite possibly, the altar at Olympos dedicated to Kairos which all would point to the mid-fifth century for their production.

The aim of this paper is to provide some insight into the possible motivation for the elevation of the concept of *kairos* to the status of divinity at this time in the history of the Greek world. In order to do so, it will be necessary to follow very briefly three lines of inquiry. The first will provide an overview of the semantic range of the word *kairos*. The second will examine the intellectual trends operative from the late sixth through the first half of the fifth century, while the third will take the form of an investigation into the attributes of the god beside whom Kairos' altar at Olympia was located – Hermes Enagônios. Collectively these three paths will provide the basis on which to found one possible explanation for the fifth-century deification of Kairos at Olympia.

[5] For discussion of evidence see West 1985; Huxley 1965. The date of his death is placed c. 421 BC.

[6] O. Benndorf 1885 cited in Cook 1914–40 vol. 2, 859 n.2. And, in fact, a statue base in the shape of an *astragalos* was discovered hard by the north-east entrance to the stadion from the Altis. This type of base would have been appropriate for either Hermes or Kairos; however, Pausanius makes no mention of a statue associated with either altar in his commentary, although statues were frequently to be found in close proximity to a god's altar.

[7] Cf. Guarducci 1966. There is, however, nothing in the historical record that I am aware of that suggests itself as a trigger for the carving of these inscriptions in the mid-fifth century, although the letter-style, as determined by the archaeologists, dates them to this period.

[8] Detienne 1991, 224–5.

Semantics

Although Hesiod does not name Kairos as a divine force in his *Theogony*, he provides us with our earliest evidence for the use of the noun at *Works and Days* 694. Used in the context of loading a cart, Hesiod advises that one should take care not to place too great a load on it, but to 'observe due measure; *kairos* is best in all things' (μέτρα φυλάσσεσθαι· καιρὸς δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστος). This usage implies both a quantitative and a qualitative sense, locating it in a range of words that have to do with proportion and measurement, and hence with what is 'fitting', 'appropriate', 'suited to the situation'.

If Hesiod's is the earliest use of the noun, Homer provides evidence of the cognate adjective *kairios* in several passages of his *Iliad*.[9] Onians (1989, 343–5) has argued that in each occurrence, a spatial frame of reference related especially to the realm of combat and contest is suggested. *Kairion* is used to identify a particular place where a projectile or another weapon can best penetrate the body of an opponent; that is, it refers to a precise point that provides an opening or passage into and through something aimed at by an assailant.[10] The place to strike, said by Onians to be the temple of the skull, will always be the 'right' place to gain entry; however, in the heat of battle, the ability to get a clear shot at this precise spot may already suggest that the semantic range of the word embraces a temporal quality as well.[11] Bodies in motion become perfectly vulnerable in relation to the attacker sporadically, and by being able to judge when the most vulnerable spot will present itself is essential to the task of 'hitting the mark'.[12]

We might say, then, that *kairos* is that point at which temporal and spatial planes intersect. One must calculate and coordinate the trajectory of the object aimed at with the object being aimed so that they intersect where *kairos* makes its brief appearance. This conceptualization of *kairos* entails an implicit sense of the quantitative, qualitative and situational that we see in Hesiod. The degree of force with which one 'hits' the 'mark' will depend upon the weapon used and must be sufficient to carry it up to and through the passage. This is the warrior's and the hunter's special skill; the successful kill demonstrates his ability to match skill to situation, and often leads to further tangible and intangible benefits for him within his community.

On another level, all of the passages where Homer employs the adjective seem to result in the 'cutting' or 'division' of one thing from another – especially, the warrior from his life. This connection with separation and

[9] *Il*. 4.185; 8.84–5, 325–6; 9.439.

[10] Although Onians (1989, 344) makes a distinction between the thing aimed at and the opening that permits passage, taking the latter as the *kairos* (345).

[11] The temporal aspect in this context is not considered pertinent by Onians.

[12] On 'hitting the mark' see Levi 1924, 1923.

divisions likewise appears to be borne out in the etymologies of the word as proposed by Levi.[13] While bearing in mind that etymologies are not always reliable, we can note that the two roots from which καιρός may have derived (κήρ and κερ-) each produce other words that relate to the acts of separation or discrimination. The act of splitting or dividing a substance in the material world is commonly undertaken by the butcher and sacrificial priest who best know how to dissect a sacrificial animal at the 'joints' and are able to further apportion the meats for equitable distribution.[14]

The earliest evidence, then, suggests that from the beginning, *kairos/ kairios* was a concept very dense in signification, essentially situational in orientation, embracing spatial, temporal, qualitative and quantitative elements, all of which operated together to identity a very particular type of action as circumstantially appropriate and advantageous to the person who can perform it. Contrarily, if any one of these elements is missing, or is not exercised in the correct proportion with the other three, the action will fail to produce the anticipated outcome, which, in turn, will not yield full benefit to the agent. Thus, in both Homer's use of the adjective and Hesiod's single use of the noun, we see that *kairos/kairios* entails the application of certain critical abilities, the power to assess a situation and act accordingly. And in both writers the agents associated with this ability are decidedly male – the farmer-merchant and the warrior.

In the writing of Theognis, however, we can detect a further moral or ethical quality related to the use of the term: *kairos* is that which is always best in the works of men.[15] This ethical turn in the word's semantic range may have entered by way of the early 'wise men', the so-called Seven Sages, including Solon, who were operative during the formative years of the Greek city-states. And their use of the term, in its turn, may have influenced its inclusion in the theories of the philosophers whose concern with the origins of the natural world laid great emphasis on the notions of measure, balance and harmony in the formation and maintenance of cosmic order.

[13] Levi (1923, 261–2) considers four possible stems: κήρ ('death', 'doom') => κεραίζειν (to'plunder', 'slaughter'); κῆρ ('heart') => κηραίνειν (to 'be anxious', 'disquieted'); καρ ('lock of cut hair') => (possibly) κείειν (to 'cleave', 'split') and κεάζειν (to 'split', 'cleave'); and, κερ- => κείρειν (to 'cut'). An unqualified derivation cannot be determined, but Levi, as with Cook (1914–40 vol. 2, 850) favours κερ-. Cf. Chantraine (1968–80) *s.v.* on the difficulty this term poses.

[14] On joints as penetrable see Onians 1989, 348 n.5.

[15] Theog., *Eleg* 1.401–2: Μηδὲν ἄγαν σπεύδειν· καιρὸς δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστος / ἔργμασιν ἀνθρώπων'. Cf. Bakkhyl. 14.16–18, who is actually gender-specific: καιρὸς ἀνδρῶν ἔργματα κάλλιστος.

Continuity and change

Noteworthy among these early philosophers was Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans. While much about his teachings is in question, it is certainly evident that Pythagoras was concerned with issues that involved measure, balance and harmony,[16] and in particular, the harmony of mathematical proportions among mystical numbers in the construction and maintenance of human and cosmic order.[17] In this theory, the number seven was associated with *kairos* in particular. Significant in this regard, was the connection that Pythagoreans observed in the coincidence of sevens with moments of 'crisis'.[18] Coping effectively with 'crisis' calls for the ability to implement 'critical judgement' and we are once again on a path of thought that brings into play the whole semantic range of *kairos*. Closely related to the concepts of crisis and critical judgement was the 'critical moment', the *kairos* in each instance, which occurs in cycles of 7 – days, weeks, years, etc. The *kairos* of each cycle was the turning-point, a precise moment of *metabolê*, at which one thing changes or 'turns' into another. *Kairos*, thus, may be considered to be a 'sign' or 'mark' *both* of a fulfilled portion of a cosmic cycle *and* the beginning of another.[19] This also makes *kairos* a 'boundary' or 'limit' which, in the field of human activity, encompasses the ethical notions of excess and deficiency.

Change, transitions, excess and deficiency were all phenomena that stimulated philosophical inquiry. Attempting to think outside of the mythical explanations of traditional beliefs, other Ionian and West-Greek philosophers began to postulate a type of divinity without anthropomorphic form, and in the process of doing so they gave names to this divine cosmic power that were also outside of those powers named within the Homeric and Hesiodic traditions: Anaximander set forth the 'Boundless' (*apeiron*) as the guiding force behind the cosmos (A 9 DK), Anaxagoras preferred 'Mind' (*Nous*) (B12 DK), Empedocles set a pair of complementary opposites at the top of his cosmic order, Affection and Quarrel (Philia and Neikos) (B 17, 7–8, 19–20; B18–B22 DK), while Heraclitus allowed that Sophon (the Wise) was the power traditionally addressed as Zeus (B 32 DK).[20] Soul (*psykhê*) became the new divine power in this thought-world. These men, thus, would seem to have set a precedent for the elevation of non-traditional abstract concepts to the position of 'gods', even if they themselves did not present their divine power as anthropomorphic in form.

---

[16] For the difficulties associated with his teachings see Burkert 1972.

[17] Burkert 1973, esp. ch. VI.

[18] Cf. Kucharsky 1963.

[19] Solon (fr 27) had expressed a very similar notion, though without employing the word *kairos*, when he divided the life of a man into periods of seven years, each having its own particular excellence.

[20] For discussion on these theological leanings in the early philosophers see Jaeger 1968, Brodie 1999.

Contemporaneous with these changes in intellectual thought were organizational changes in the forms of government. Several *poleis* throughout the Greek world were ousting monarchies and tyrannies and adopting oligarchic and democratic systems of governance. Simultaneously, people, as well as goods and ideas, were on the move. Mainland Greek cities continued to plant colonies to their east and west, while the number of people involved in travel and commerce continued to increase. Indeed, several of the early philosophers, including Pythagoras, were travellers who either permanently relocated or journeyed as visitors to cities throughout the Greek world. Based on the few scattered references and fragments of these men's thoughts to have survived, it seems clear that they were conversant with the views of their predecessors and peers, sometimes, as in the case of Heraclitus and Xenophanes, even name-dropping and criticizing those with whom they differed.

In this climate of change, a renewed interest in the acquisition of knowledge arose, and with it a heightened awareness of the importance of the spoken word in its dissemination. Thus, while many people were becoming literate, the primary means of communicating one's ideas remained in the sphere of oral performance.[21] Particularly in democracies, but in no way absent from the oligarchies, being able to hold forth and actively participate in the decision-making process was becoming the fifth-century equivalent to the practical, physical activity of the old days. In this context, the former Homeric definition of a man of *aretê* (*Il.* 9.443) shifted, as did its relationship to *kairos*, with an increased emphasis on the oral evidence of manliness and adding an aesthetic quality to the word that mirrored the physical beauty of the body, especially that of the athlete. Thus, for some, the *aretê* of the new political man of the fifth century was henceforth to be found in the well-ordered, well-timed and beautifully delivered argument. And the same qualities that made a physical action *kairos* applied in this area as well, so that both the form and content of things said could be referred to as *kairos* (e.g. Pindar, *Pyth.* 9.78–9; 10.4; *Ol.* 13.47–8).

Remarkably, while the majority of our evidence for the fifth century comes from Athens, the Athenians themselves were not the primary initiators of these changes. With the exception of the Greek tragic poets, the majority of the poets and the philosophers of whom we have knowledge were all from points east and west of Attica. For instance, Pindar was Boeotian and composed the majority of his victory Odes for champions from Magna Graecia and the Peloponnese. Moreover, from the scanty references to Ion of Khios, we learn that he may even have visited King Arkhelaos about the time that the latter won the four-horse chariot-race at Olympia in

[21] For the relationship of early philosophers to traditional knowledge, its forms of expression, and the venues where it was disseminated, see Most 1999.

448. Similarly, Ion of Khios had connections with the Peloponnese. Elegiac fragment 27 of the latter's work indicates that it was probably composed for a symposion, in all likelihood held by King Arkhidamos II of Sparta.[22] As the date of this composition is not firmly established, the occasion for Ion's visit is usually sought in the context of political history. However, private symposia celebrating various types of victories were not unheard of as Plato's *Symposion* and the *epinikia* of numerous poets bear witness, and it may only be coincidental that in 448 a Spartan by the name of Arkesilaos was victor in the chariot race at Olympia.[23] Nevertheless, it is conceivable that Ion's elegiac poem, which opens by honouring the King as host, went on to praise the King's victorious guest as well. We also learn from the little that remains of Ion of Khios' own works that he kept company with the likes of Aiskhylos and Sophokles and that Aiskhylos too, though Athenian, had his own connections with the people of the Greek west. Furthermore, it has been suggested that Ion was familiar with and sympathetic to Pythagorean number theory and employed some aspects of it in his own writings.[24] Given that *kairos* appears to have been an important element in this theory, we may further be justified in proposing that Ion's sympathy extended to his treatment of Kairos in his *Hymn*.

Considering only those poets writing prior to 450 for whom we have evidence, we find that Pindar and Aiskhylos both employ the word in a manner which suggests that success is at least as dependent upon the recognition of *kairos*, as it is on the acknowledgment of other deities associated with a given activity. This regularly repeated expression of the importance of *kairos* by both philosophers and poets alike would have been heard by the general public at recitations, lectures and poetic competitions at any number of venues including the those conducted at the major athletic Games.[25] We may conclude that such frequent exposure to the word in these contexts may also have served to make the listeners more receptive to the deification of the concept by the mid-fifth century.[26]

Of time and chance

It is also generally agreed that a Boeotian (or possibly a Peloponnesian) poet was responsible for the composition of the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*. It

[22] Both Huxley (1965, 31–3) and West (1985, 74) argue for Arkhidamos as the host, but the former dates the visit to 462 while the latter prefers a date c. 450.

[23] Golden 1998, 121.

[24] See the references collected in West 1985; cf. Huxley 1965.

[25] *Epideixis* at Olympia: Pl. *Hipp.Mi.* 363cd, 364a; Isocr. 445; Diog. Laer. 8.63.

[26] It is somewhat ironic that the very venues that were established to pay homage to the Olympian gods became the same ones at which the Pre-Socratics and the Sophists were able to present their new gods or their doubts about the existence of any gods to the widest possible audiences.

should follow then, that the *timai* granted Hermes in the *Hymn* and the activities which he undertakes to acquire them, will reflect those aspects of his divinity valued by the people who so honoured him, but be presented in such a way as to be comprehensible and acceptable to a wider Greek audience.

The very first episode narrated in the *Hymn*[27] recounts the tale of Hermes' quite unexpected encounter with a tortoise on the very threshold of his home – a meeting at the limits of two demarcated spaces within a temporal frame (26–30). In one and the same instant, Hermes is able to both foresee and actualize his vision, converting the tortoise from a 'chance' find into a guarantee of success. Because of his superior intellect, his *mêtis*, he recognizes the encounter for what it actually is – not random and uncontrollable 'luck' but opportunity. *Kairos* is herein presented as the actualization of an intellectual response to *tukhê*.

A similar situation obtains in Hermes' later contest with Apollo over the distribution of *timai*. At a crucial moment in their 'negotiations', Hermes reveals the lyre which he created from the tortoise's shell, and employs it to secure for himself an advantage over his brother.[28] The moment to act was itself initiated by Apollo's sighting of the two cowhides which Hermes had left exposed on the rocks. This day-old god had earlier expertly wrestled two of the stolen cattle to the ground, pierced their necks at exactly the right spot to kill them (just as he had already done with the tortoise, 39–51) and then proceeded to cut them up in order to prepare a feast for the gods, for whom he skilfully divided and apportioned the meat so that all would have their 'equal share' (118–29). Thus the *Hymn* reveals that Hermes is a master of *kairos*; a god born with the innate ability to gain the advantage that *kairos* holds for those in the know and with the know-how.[29]

However, as societies change, so too do their gods. This is particularly evident in the way in which several of Hermes' divine *timai* become important enough to become distinctive and honored deities in their own right. While Hermes' conceptual ties with each of them are maintained, each becomes a secondary characteristic (or associate) of the god whose importance in other areas of society is subsequently foregrounded.[30] What

[27] For more extensive discussions of Hermes see Brown 1969, Kahn 1978, Clay 1989.

[28] Cf. Clay 1989, 138

[29] As noted above (pp.95–6) in discussing the semantic range of *kairos*, combat and contest as well as dividing and portioning in the area of sacrifice are all activities conducive to the manifestation and utilization of *kairos*.

[30] Nevertheless, Hermes' associations with *agônes* and *tukhê*, and *horoi*, as represented in the *Hymn*, were too firmly established in the thought-world of the age to be wholly separated from him, but not so firmly entrenched as to prevent refinements. Agôn, the personified 'contest', stood as a statute beside that of Ares on the prize-table at Olympia (Paus. 5.20.3), while Tukhê had become a figure in her own right relatively early (cf. e.g. Shapiro 1993, 227–8), and Phêmê

was once Hermes' association with poetic memory and particular types of poetic composition is transferred to the art of rhetoric and oratory as these uses of the spoken word grow more politically important. Likewise, what in all likelihood began as a connection between Hermes and the physical education of youths is translated into one of linguistic and literary education in the context of the city-state's gymnasia. Even though war, and the training of young men in preparation for it, continues to be important, in those states where discussion of issues precedes the enactment of laws or action, the ability to argue effectively becomes significant enough to warrant its own patron divinity,[31] and Hermes becomes the ideal god for this new agonistic skill.

I have argued elsewhere that Hermes is a god intimately connected with agonistic settings, including warfare and athletics.[32] The fact that he deliberately sets out to initiate a contest with Apollo in the *Hymn* is one of the points used in support of this argument. His slaying of Argos by the casting of a stone is another, which also connects him with the mastery of *kairos*. It is also worth noting at this point that Hermes' contest with Apollo takes place near what will become the site of the Olympic Games, while his killing of Argos occurs at a place where a festival named for him, which included athletic games, was held.[33] But equally important to both of these arguments is Hermes' role in the initiation and training of young men in athletic skills in preparation for their future roles as warriors. Here again we know that part of this programme for the young men at Sparta involved a period of time spent stealing food and conducting raiding expeditions, while Pausanias 9.22.2 relates how Hermes led the youth of Tanagra from the *gymnasion* into battle armed with only a strigil (*stleggis*). Another integral part of this training involved instruction in rhythm and movement, which in the fifth century was considered to be best expressed in three activities that again bring Hermes and *kairos* together – running, wrestling and dancing, especially the pyrrhic dance-in-arms, which was thought to have originated among the people of Arkadia. Indeed, the pyrrhic was said to be productive not only of the most beautiful bodies but of the best warriors as well. And it is here in the 'body beautiful' that we can begin to bring together our three

too, a much regarded though little respected messenger among men, seems to have been given a life of her own beside the master communicator (Paus 1.17.1; cf. Hdt 9.100; cf. Stafford 2000, 10–11). Kairos, so much a part of Hermes' way of being in the world as seen in the *Hymn*, seems to have been the next aspect of his divinity to receive cult, closely followed by Pompaios and Pompê (above, p.94). Though later than the rest, even Horos eventually appears in personified form.

[31] Lloyd 1979, 249.

[32] Allan 2004.

[33] Roberstson 1992, 208–14.

lines of inquiry to arrive at an explanation for the deification of Kairos at Olympia.

Family resemblances

Both Hermes and Kairos lay claim to being the among the youngest sons of Zeus, and to say that many Greek men had a passionate appreciation of the youthful male body may not be overstating the case. So concerned were the Spartans with the proper development of their young men both socially and physically that boys aged seven (the 'crisis' point, or *kairos*, in the first cycle of sevens in Solon's 'Ages of Man', above n.19), were taken from their mothers to be raised solely among the males of the community. And it was also said that Spartans introduced the practice of exercising and competing in the nude to the Olympics (Thouk 1.6.5; cf. Plato, *Rep.* 452c–d). While the latter practice made an athlete more aerodynamic and had the added benefit of encouraging self-control, it also permitted the display of the male body in its prime, making visible the complete harmony of muscle, mind and motion. Moreover, the prime of youth, ἡβῆ – occurring at or shortly after puberty when the first down of a beard appeared on the young man's cheeks – was the point at which a youth began his initiation period into the adult community, moving from the purely physical training of the dancer/athlete to the applied arts of warrior.[34] This is the age that both Hermes and Kairos often assume in many artistic representations.[35]

Beyond this association with youth, Hermes and Kairos share many other points of contact.[36] Each is affiliated with boundaries and limits; each has connections with things that involve movement, change and shifts in direction, such as turning posts, hinges, and even the balance scale itself. And the association extends still further. Not only is Kairos' altar located beside that of Hermes Enagônios at Olympia, but some of his attributes, once they are given expression in the plastic arts, can be found in early representations of Hermes. Both Kairos and Hermes are represented with wings on their feet, a *topos* in both art and literature used to suggest the great speed with which something moves in the world. Additionally, both are

[34] For Hermes' connections to initiation rites see, e.g. Costa 1982.

[35] It is certainly the age assumed by Hermes in his appearance before Priam in the *Iliad* (24.347–8). For youthful representations of Kairos, see *LIMC s.v.* nos 1–4, 14, 18, 21. The images of Hermes as a youth are far more numerous, *LIMC s.v.*, e.g. nos 111, 192, 242, 365a, 367, 377, 437, 656, etc. The last four also depict Hermes with winged feet. Details noted in the following paragraph may also be confirmed by reference to these images. For Hermes and the scales, in particular, see *LIMC s.v.* nos 622, 625, 628.

[36] As Webster (1954, 13), among others, has noted. It is often the case that personifications are found in association with a major Olympian, a technique used by the poets and artists to suggest a relationship between or among the concepts thus represented. Cf. Parker 1996, 235–6; Stafford 2000, esp. ch.1.

represented as the holders of scales.[37] When we read this image in light of the possible etymological links that *kairos* has with κήρ (death) and we recall the earliest use of the adjective that also connects *kairios* with the a 'deadly' blow, we can see the conceptual links between Hermes Psykhopompos, the weighing of the souls, and the significance of Kairos' role in assisting at this moment of transition and change. And we may take this one step further and connect these two aspects of death to the 'body beautiful' as it relates to the male who dies young on the battlefield and to the 'victory or death' mentality that was espoused by competitors at the Olympic Games.

Prior to the intellectual inquiries of the early philosophers, it was generally accepted that the future was unknowable except by divine revelation, that men's victories or defeats were governed as much by Moira and Tukhê as by any purposeful actions on their own behalf. Thus, on the battlefield and in athletic competitions, it was assumed that victory went to the one assisted, and so chosen, by the gods. In political contexts, victory translated into a sign of divine election, and it was not uncommon for victors in the footrace or chariot-race at Olympia to rise to positions of considerable political power, even that of tyrants, in their home towns.[38] It would be fair to say, then, that for certain members of the Greek male population Olympia represented a 'land of opportunity' in a very real political sense. But it was also literally and figuratively a field of battle.[39] *Kairos* was not yet divine, but it was evidently always situational and, thus, comprehensible as in some way involved in the working out of divine will. This relationship to the divine made it accessible for elevation to divinity in the future.

That 'future' came as one of the side effects of the early philosophical inquires: the creation of a world-view that facilitated the deification of *kairos*. The late sixth to mid-fifth century is often referred to as the First Age of Enlightenment and discussed in terms of the antithesis that developed between a 'rational' and a 'mythological' world-view. In the context of a period in Greek intellectual and political thought when aspects of the divine could be known by men, the deification of Kairos reflects what we might term, however paradoxically, a highly 'rational' decision to pay homage to

[37] Each of these attributes was employed in the fourth-century statue by Lysippos, who also seems to have represented the scales as resting on the edge of a scraper/knife; perhaps an allusion to Hermes' own handiwork with knives and strigils(?): Poseidippos, *AP* 16.275; see Pollitt 1986, 53–4, fig. 47. Of further note, usually only two other divinities are shown holding scales: Zeus (also said to be father of Kairos) and Dikê, 'Justice' personified. Both Hermes and Dikê share the number four, and Hermes is clearly associated with matter of equitable distribution and the allotments (*nomoi*) upon which the concepts of Dikê rest. For the relationship between Dikê and Kairos see Palmer 1950. Much later Nemesis, too, comes to be depicted holding scales, cf. Stafford 2000, 102.

[38] Among the numerous discussions available on these points, see Golden 1998, 157–75.

[39] On the metaphorical equivalency of athletic competition and war, see Scanlon 1988.

the 'spirit' of the Age, since it was deemed to be within men's power to 'see' and to 'recognize' (νοεῖν, νοῦς), to calculate and to respond to this god's brief appearing. In this respect, Kairos, in accordance with his grammatical gender, is a very masculine god: he represents the highest form of Greek male excellence because he embodies all of the key virtues that exemplify a man of *aretê*.[40] And he is all the more masculine because he represents something over which a man may exercise some control. He is what one may 'apprehend' in order to take advantage of 'chance' and convert it into 'good fortune' rather than remain subject to *moira*. He is something 'recognizable' in time, within time, rather than something seen in hindsight, as one might say of *tukhê*.

In the contexts of Olympic competition where the altar of Kairos was dedicated, the four basic qualities that combine to identify a man of *aretê* are precisely the four elements that define the complex of ideas implicit in the concept of *kairos* itself. To be an Olympic victor, especially in the *stadion* events, required that one first have a certain degree of innate ability that has been further developed by the right amount and the right kind of technical training which is then given expression at exactly the right moment in the right place in the right event to produce victory.[41] For those cities in which such a victory still carried political weight, Kairos quite literally gave these men an competitive 'edge'. In this sense, then, the deified Kairos becomes a potent symbol of the ethics and aesthetics of the 'body politics' of Olympia.

[40] The point gains particular clarity in Euripides' *Hippolytos* of 428 BC: his Phaidra finds it especially difficult to identity the *kairos* in relation to the demands of *aidos* (386–7).

[41] Anyone who has watched the short-track speed-skating events at the Winter Olympics will appreciate how both time and space work in conjunction with quality and quantity of skill to take advantage and, thus, win advantage in a race. No doubt the *diaulos* and the chariot-races of old generated the same opportunities at the turns and a similar degree of risk and excitement.

10

Eros at the Panathenaea: personification of what?

Irina Kovaleva

Eros is a well-known deity, the personification of love or desire, a *putto* with golden wings and a bow, or a torch. This image is true, but it holds true only for Hellenistic art, or at the earliest, for the art of the late classical period. As for the archaic period, we have only scarce evidence, literary or archaeological, that there existed any cult of Eros at all. Evidence of the emergence of Eros' cult in Athens under Peisistratus is therefore all the more significant. The tradition is attested in such sources as Plutarch's *Life of Solon*, Pausanias and Athenaeus. An examination of these sources suggests that the cult of Eros first arose in Athens in the sixth century BC – we cannot with confidence speak of the existence of a cult earlier than that – and that this cult differed in important ways from what came later. First, the Eros worshipped in Athens at this time was not the personification of 'Love' but of a cosmogonic principle of energy. Secondly, as such, the early image of Eros is closely tied to the cosmogonic systems of Hesiod and early philosophy (Pherecydes, Acusilaus and others: see Appendix below).

Plutarch writes (*Solon* 1, tr. Bernadotte Perrin):

> And it is said that Peisistratus also had a boy lover, Charmus, and that he dedicated the statue of Love in the Academy, where the runners in the sacred torch race light their torches.

In the first book of his *Description of Greece* (1.30.1), Pausanias refers to an altar of Eros (tr. W.H.S. Jones):

> Before the entrance to the Academy is an altar to Love, with an inscription that Charmus was the first Athenian to dedicate an altar to that god.

From *Personification In The Greek World: From Antiquity To Byzantium*, eds Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Copyright © 2005 by Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Published by Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, UK.

Athenaeus, quoting an Athenian historian of the fourth century BC,[1] gives the votive inscription on the temple altar in his text (12.609d, tr. C.B. Gulick):

> Eros of the many devices, for you Charmus established this altar,
> Here, at the shadowy limits of the gymnasium.

As we see, all these sources indicate that the cult of Eros was originally established in Athens under Peisistratus (and by Peisistratus himself, according to Plutarch). The ancient tradition associates Charmus with Peisistratus' family. So Plutarch considers Charmus to be Peisistratus' lover; some other sources point to Hippias, Peisistratus' son, as a lover and then son-in-law of Charmus.[2] Charmus' son, Hipparchus (probably named in honour of Peisistratus' second son) was eponymos archon of 496/5 BC. In any case, Charmus belonged to the inner circle of people who were close to the Athenian tyrants and could take part in their revisions of religion and cult.

Both Plutarch and Pausanias refer to an altar (or a statue) of Eros in the context of a torch-race ritual, the race with torches from the Academy to the Acropolis on the night before the Panathenaea procession. Pausanias describes this ritual in detail, but according to him the race started from Prometheus' altar (1.30.2, tr. Jones):

> In the Academy is an altar to Prometheus, and from it they run to the city carrying burning torches. The contest is while running to keep the torch still alight; if the torch of the first runner goes out, he has no longer any claim to victory, but the second runner has. If his torch also goes out, then the third man is the victor. If all the torches go out, no one is left to be winner.

This evidence for the torch race places the establishment of the altar of Eros in the context of the Panathenaea festival – and so in the wider context of the Athenian religious calendar, the revision of which was initiated by Solon and continued under Peisistratus.

The torch race was an element of the festival sequence, supposed by Walter Burkert to celebrate the end of an old and the start of a new year.[3] The new year started in the month Hecatombaion after the summer equinox. A period of purification preceded it. The period included the festivals of the Kallynteria and the Plynteria at the end of Thargelion and these were supposed to be 'inauspicious days'; they thus corresponded to the mythological destruction of the world at the end of the annual cycle. Then at the beginning of the month of Skirophorion the mysterious ritual of the Arrhephoria was performed. Most researchers consider this ritual to

[1] Cf. *FGrH* I, 364.

[2] These sources are well analysed in Shapiro 1989, 119–20.

[3] Burkert 1985, 227–34.

correspond to the myth of Erichthonius' birth and the destruction of Cecrops' daughters.[4] The Skira (on the twelfth day of Skirophorion) followed the Arrhephoria. At the Skira the priest of Poseidon-Erechtheus and the priestess of Athena Polias left the polis, an action which symbolized the ritual death of an old king (reflected in the myth as Erechtheus' destruction in the battle with Eumolpus, the leader of the Eleusinians). The festival of Zeus Polieus, which was celebrated two days later, symbolized the re-establishment of order. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that the Kronia festival celebrated on the twelfth of Hecatombaion, a bit before the Panathenaea, recalled the period 'before the creation of the world' and thus partly violated the logical sequence. Finally, just after the new moon, on the twenty-eighth of Hecatombaion, there was the well-known Panathenaic procession. It started at dawn and was preceded by a night festival (*pannychis*), with its torch race to bring a new fire from the holy grove of the hero Academus to the Acropolis. Evidently, this is a typical cosmogonic ritual to perform at the beginning of the year: the lighting of a new fire in place of the old one. It is obvious that the new fire, light, and order arise from chaos and chthonic darkness, from the holy place sacred to the hero Academus, ultimately from the grave.[5] The ritual of the torch race is referred to in some sources earlier than Plutarch and Pausanias, such as Aristophanes' *Frogs* (1090 ff.).

The cult of Eros was incorporated into this mythology of the beginning of a new world/year cycle under Peisistratus. Indeed, it was initiated by Peisistratus himself if we trust Plutarch. According to Pausanias the altar of Eros was originally erected at that time. The establishment of a new cult corresponds well to the atmosphere of religious reforms conducted by Solon and Peisistratus.

The other fact that points to the emergence of the Eros cult in Peisistratus' Athens is its close relationship with the Panathenaea ritual. Pausanias (1.30.1) uses a typical cultic myth to justify the establishment of the Athenian cult of Anteros, the mysterious deity, who was considered by some to be a deity of 'Love Avenged' (tr. Jones):

> The altar within the city called the altar of Anteros (Love Avenged), they say was dedicated by resident aliens, because the Athenian Meles, spurning the love of Timagoras, a resident alien, bade him ascend to the highest point of the rock and cast himself down. Now Timagoras took no account of his life, and was ready to gratify the youth in any of his requests, so he went and cast himself down. When Meles saw that Timagoras was dead, he suffered such pangs of remorse that he threw himself from the same rock and so died. From

[4] Burkert 1966; Robertson 1983.

[5] Burkert 1985, 232. On the worship of heroes at their graves, cf. Stratiki *infra* pp. 69–76.

this time the resident alien was worshipped as Anteros the avenging spirit of Timagoras.

Seltman identifies the Timagoras of this story with Timagoras the potter, a contemporary of Exekias and admirer of Andocides,[6] and so the events described by Pausanias and the establishing of the polis cult of Eros can be dated to 550–520 BC. The worship of Eros on the Acropolis is indicated also by archaeological evidence. Excavations on the north slope of the Acropolis have uncovered a temple of Aphrodite and Eros, and a number of inscriptions. One of them, dated to the middle of the fifth century BC, speaks of the establishment of a festival to worship Eros on the fourth day of the month of Mounichion.[7] However, the cult of Aphrodite and Eros had existed in Athens earlier,[8] as is attested by a terracotta votive plate from the Acropolis on which is represented Aphrodite with a pair of twins in her hands; the names of the twins are given as Himeros (ΗΙΜΕΡΟΣ) and E(ros) (E...). This is the earliest of known picture of Eros, dated to 560 BC. This couple, Himeros-Eros, obviously goes back to Hesiod (*Theogony* 201–02), but the iconographic type, according to Schefold, may be inspired by the representation of Night with Sleep and Death on the famous Chest of Cypselus (early sixth century BC).[9]

So the Eros cult on the Acropolis was established near the middle of the sixth century BC. The Eros altar on the Acropolis, as Robertson remarks,[10] marked the end of the torch race, just as the altar in the Academy marked the race's starting point. That is why it was called 'the reversed one', opposite to Eros, Ant-Eros.

It therefore seems clear that the Eros cult in Athens was established under Peisistratus in close relationship with the Panathenaea. But what was the meaning of this innovation? What is personified by Eros? Robertson, for example, associates the ritual of the torch race with the myth about the birth of Erichthonius from Hephaestus and Athena; in that case, Eros could be taken to be the personification of Hephaestus' desire.[11] From our point of view, the analysis of the festival's sequence given above enables us to conclude that we are in fact dealing with a cosmogonic ritual of the re-establishment of the world order at the beginning of the new year, and thus with the cosmogonic Eros.

---

[6] Seltman 1923–25.

[7] Broneer 1932.

[8] In the fifth century BC Eros was well rooted in the Athenian pantheon as a son of Aphrodite. This is demonstrated by the metopes on the East side of the Parthenon, where Eros is represented as a young boy standing by Aphrodite (metopes 10–12).

[9] Schefold 1993, 75; cf. Shapiro 1993, 110–11 fig. 62.

[10] Robertson 1992, 106–07.

[11] Robertson 1985.

It is well known that Hesiod was the first to introduce such a figure as Eros into Greek cosmogonic mythology: there is no personification of Eros in Greece earlier than this. After Hesiod, the name of Eros can be found in various cosmogonic models, shaped by Pherecydes, Acusilaus, the Orphics, etc. This innovation has been explained as Hesiod's own invention or as a borrowing from the local Boeotian cult at Thespiae, mentioned by Pausanias (9.27). Unfortunately, we cannot date the rise of the Boeotian cult on the basis of Pausanias' ἐξ ἀρχῆς, 'from the beginning', so we can not confirm or reject Pausanias' claim that Hesiod was influenced by it.

In a series of works, including his commentaries on Hesiod's *Theogony* (1966), *Early Greek philosophy and the Orient* (1971), *The Orphic poems* (1983), and the article *'Ab Ovo'* (1994), West has analysed the relationship of early Greek cosmogonies to Egyptian and Middle Eastern (Phoenician) cosmogonic models. The Greek cosmogonies of the eighth to sixth centuries BC combine the same primary elements: Chaos – Chronos – Aether – Air – Darkness – Night – Light – Earth – Eros. In *'Ab Ovo'*, West goes so far as to reconstruct the Semitic terms of the proto-text on the basis of two Phoenician cosmogonies, known in Greek versions: the cosmogony of Eudemus in the exposition of Damascius and so-called cosmogony of Sanchuniathon in the exposition of Eusebius. Desire (Pothos) is mentioned among the primary elements in both these cosmogonies. West associates this personified desire with the Eros-Phanes of Orphic texts. In *The Orphic Poems* West makes two other points of some significance. On the one hand, he reminds us that the 'egg' of Orphic cosmogonies has an Egyptian origin and is the combination of homonymic hieroglyphs, meaning 'egg' and 'wind'. On the other hand he points out that Semitic *ruah*, translated as *pneuma*, 'breath', or 'blowing', has another additional meaning, 'desire'. So the Pothos of Eudemus and Sanchuniathon emerges as the translation of this Semitic term.[12]

It follows from this that all the cosmogonies mentioned above have the same model, reflected in the second verse of *Genesis*:

> And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.

The Ruah of this model may at times have been represented by the terms denoting 'wind', 'breath', or 'air', and at other times by terms denoting 'desire', as we see in Eudemus. So the Eros of Hesiod exactly matches Ruah, because in Greek ἔρως is a synonym for πόθος. It is not any 'fantasy of Hesiod' but a strict adherence to the system to be set forth. Hesiod's *Theogony* thus presents not one but two cosmogonies. As is well known, the genealogy of the descendants of Ouranos (Heaven) corresponds to the

[12] West 1983, 103–05 and 198–201.

Middle Eastern myth about the changing of generations (the so-called Succession Myth), and the genealogy of 'the family of Chaos' corresponds to Egyptian-Semitic-Indian-Iranian myth about the first elements.

Thus Hesiod's cosmogonic Eros is not the principle of love, but a principle of energy latent in the primary darkness, the energy which gives life to the world. This principle of latent energy has a Serpent image in the mythology. So in the Vedic tradition we meet the identification of the archetypal Serpent of Darkness – Ahi Budhnya, the Dragon of Vritra – with the Sun rising at dawn and the god of fire, Aghny (this was highlighted by M. Eliade in his *The Two and the One*). In the *Rigveda* (1.79.1) Aghny is called 'the lightfire serpent'. *Aitareya Brachmana* (3.36) postulates that Ahi Budhnya is an invisible form (*parakshena*) for which Aghny Garhapatya is a visible manifestation (*pratyakshna*). To put it another way, the Serpent is potential Fire and Darkness is unmanifested Light. If we look at the text from the *Rigveda*: 'Golden-haired windlike Serpent, the lightfire Serpent in the middle of Space' we find in this hymn all the basic characteristic of the Eros of archaic Greek lyric: 'golden-haired', 'windlike', and Sappho's 'bitter-sweet serpent'.[13]

So, in the ritual of the Panathenaea, Eros symbolizes the ideas of light and order which are born by and from darkness and chaos. This reconstructed serpent image of Eros in fact matches the general 'serpent context' of the Panathenaea myth very well. Erichthonius, the mythic founder of the Panathenaea, has a serpent's tail instead of feet, as also has Cecrops, the father of his unlucky nurses, who were terrified to death by his monstrous form. Erichthonius is worshipped on the Acropolis as the holy serpent of Athena, and so on.

The next question is therefore whether any immediate causes for the establishment of the cult of Eros under Peisistratus can be identified. They can. There is a stable tradition in antiquity which insists that under Solon Athens was visited by Epimenides, who purified the polis from pollution and pestilence. Diogenes Laertius (1.112) ascribes to him the establishment of the temple of the Eumenides in Athens and the writing of a Theogony. Plutarch (*Solon* 12) credits him with some reforms in the worship of the gods and the establishment of new rituals and sacrifices. Eros' name does not appear in the fragments of Epimenides' *Theogony* which survive (DK 3 B 1–19), but it is mentioned in Damascius' and Philodemus' reports; Epimenides' primary elements correspond to the primary elements cited by Hesiod, Eumelus, Acusilaus, Pherecydes and the Orphics.

However, although incorporated into the ritual action of the Panathenaea, Eros did not enter its mythology. It is hard to expand a cosmogonic principle into mythological narration. The maximum information about the principle

[13] Cf. Parisinou (*infra* pp. 36–7) on Eros' bright qualities.

that can be given is a description of its nature and genesis, its genealogy. There was an active forming of the mythology of Eros as a cosmogonic principle as far as concerned the shaping of his genealogy during the seventh and sixth centures BC. The results of this process were fixed in lyric poetry (for example, Eros is a son of Chaos in Ibycus), and in the theogonies and cosmogonies of the early philosophers (Eros is the son of Night and Erebus in Acusilaus). Lyric poetry is also primarily responsible for Eros' metamorphosis from a primary, active cosmogonic element into an anthropomorphic deity that could be not only worshipped, but also represented. The anthropomorphic process proceeded in tandem with the development of a new understanding of Eros as the personification of love and desire, the fixing of the genealogy of Eros as Aphrodite's child, and the formation of its opposition to Aphrodite under the model of homo- and heterosexual desire. Later this conception of Eros came to be the dominant one. The motivation for Peisistratus' raising of the statue, as we meet it in later authors like Plutarch and Pausanias, went back to this conception. The ritual at the altar of Anteros on the Acropolis was reinterpreted in the same direction. The culmination of the ritual, as it is evident from the throwing from the rock and destruction of Timagoras and Meles, was a human sacrifice. It is impossible to ignore the insistent repetition of the motif of throwing from a rock in the myths relating to the early period of Athens. So Daedalus throws his nephew from the rock of the Acropolis; Lycomedes throws Theseus, as Theseus does his defeated enemies on his way to Athens; Aegeus throws himself into the sea when he hears about the destruction of his son, etc. The ritual meaning of the myth is illuminated by a passage about a ritual existing among the Leucadians in Strabo (10.9, tr. H.L. Jones):

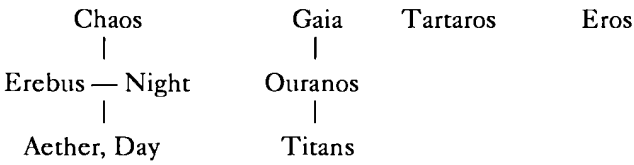
> It was an ancestral custom among the Leucadians, every year at the sacrifice performed in honour of Apollo, for some criminal to be flung from this rocky look-out for the sake of averting evil, wings and birds of all kinds being fastened to him, since by their fluttering they could lighten the leap, and also for a number of men, stationed all round below the rock in small fishing-boats, to take the victim in, and, when he had been taken on board, to do all in their power to get him safely outside their borders.

The text indicates that here we are dealing with a year-purifying sacrifice of the scapegoat type. In both stories – about the Leucadians and about Timagoras – the victim has a defective social status (a criminal sentenced to death, a metic). It is especially characteristic that Strabo says 'for the sake of averting evil' (although the passage starts from mention of Apollo's festival): this is a typical redemptive sacrifice. There is a revenge daemon, ἀλάστωϱ, which has to be propitiated in Athens' history. Such details of the ritual as the fastening of wings to the hands of the victim are very significant in our

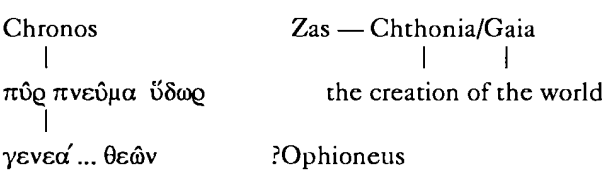
context. Later authors misinterpreted this as a sign of concern for the victim. The original meaning of the action was to make the victim similar to a bird or wind. Later this throwing from the Leucadian rock was associated with Sappho's name and given an erotic interpretation. But the Leucadian sacrifice and the casting-down of Cecrops' daughters are not associated with any love story and thus remind us of the original, ritual character of the motif. The meaning of the Athenian plot was the same. In Athens the place for such a sacrifice was the Anteros altar, the name of which was misinterpreted as Love Avenged; from this arose the story about the fatal passion of Timagoras.

Appendix: Some Archaic Cosmogonies

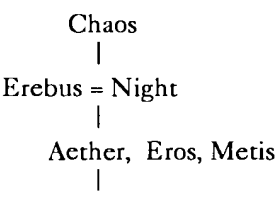
Hesiod (*Theogony* 116 – 138)



Pherecydes (DK 7 A 11, 7 A 8)[14]



Acusilaus (DK 9 B 1)



[14] See also Schibli 1990.

Epimenides (DK 3 B 5)

Aer = Night
|
Tartaros two Titans
|
egg
|
new generation

The Orphic Cosmogony in Aristophanes' *Birds* (693–702)

Chaos Night = Erebus Tartaros ('there were neither Earth, nor Air and Sky)
|
egg
|
Eros ('golden-pinioned', 'windlike') Eros = Chaos
| |
the birds Ouranos, Ocean and Gaia 'and the kin of immortal gods'

Eumelus (in Hyginus)[15]

Caligo
|
Chaos
|
Night, Day, Erebus, Aether

Eudemus (according to West)[16]

Chronos Pothos = Ὁμίχλη
|
Aer, Aura
|
egg
|
world

[15] Cf. Fontenrose 1959, 222–3.
[16] West 1994, 290–91.

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

PART III

THE POET AND HIS WORK

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

11

The Muses: creativity personified?

Penelope Murray

The Muses are not, strictly speaking, personifications. *Mousa* is not an abstract noun – the word does not have an obvious meaning – and the Muses cannot be said to embody a single concept in the way that, for example, Mnemosyne (Memory), their mother, does. These goddesses, whose nature is not disclosed in the name that designates them, have an independent existence with a mythology and religious cult of their own, and, unlike, for example, the Charites (Graces), with whom they are so often associated, have a life of their own, which, so to speak, goes beyond the attributes which they embody. But in many ways the Muses do seem to belong to what Gombrich has described as that twilight zone between mythology and metaphor, between the gods of Olympus and the abstractions of language, in which personification has its origin.[1] For the Muses are somewhat shadowy figures, and the traditions that surround them are unusually varied: Homer's Muses are different from Hesiod's, Pindar's from those of Empedocles, Aristophanes or Plato. The very flexibility of the image of the Muse allows each author to envisage her as he likes. The character of the Muses is thus more fluid, less fixed than that of the Olympian gods, and richer, less narrowly defined than that of deified abstractions such as Peitho (Persuasion), Mnemosyne, the Charites or the Horai (Seasons). We could say that Muses are indefinite or indeterminate rather than abstract, but in so far as they embody qualities associated with the creation of poetry and song, they belong as much to the world of personification as they do to the world of the Olympian gods.

The question of *how* the Muses relate to personification is complex, and I want to begin by thinking a bit about what we mean by 'personification'. Whitman has drawn attention to an important distinction between two rather different meanings of the term:

[1] Gombrich 1971, 249. Cf. Burton *infra* p. 55–6.

From *Personification In The Greek World: From Antiquity To Byzantium*, eds Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Copyright © 2005 by Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Published by Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, UK.

> ... one refers to the practice of giving an *actual* personality to an abstraction. This practice has its origins in animism and ancient religion, and is called 'personification' by modern theorists of religion and anthropology ... The other meaning of 'personification' is the historical sense of *prosopopoeia*. This refers to the practice of giving a consciously fictional personality to an abstraction, 'impersonating' it. The rhetorical practice requires a separation between the literary pretense of a personality and the actual state of affairs.[2]

The personified abstractions which people Hesiod's poetry – Nemesis, Deceit, Old Age and Strife, Aspiration, Victory, Power and Strength, and so on – are examples of the first type of personification. These coexist quite happily with all manner of other divinities in a mythopoetic world which conceives of its gods in anthropomorphic terms, where personification is a mode of thought and a way of giving order to experience. By contrast an example of Whitman's second type of personification can be seen in the sophist Prodicus' tale of Heracles' choice between Virtue and Vice, the first recorded version of a favourite theme in Western literature and art. According to Xenophon's Socrates (*Memorabilia* 2.1. 21–34) Prodicus would lecture to throngs of listeners on the subject of Heracles who, when approaching manhood, went to a quiet place to think about which path to take through life, the path of virtue or the path of vice. As he sat pondering he was approached by two tall women: one was handsome, modest and dressed in white; the other was plump, soft and dressed to reveal all her charms. The first, Virtue, showed him the long, hard road of toil and effort which leads to true happiness; the second, Vice, promised him a life of ease and sensuous pleasure, the short and easy road. Here personification is used for allegorical purposes, and the abstract ideas of virtue and vice are embodied in female form in order to drive home the moral of the story. Socrates makes the rhetorical nature of this practice explicit when he concludes his outline of the story with the words, 'That is roughly how Prodicus describes the education of Heracles by Virtue, except that he actually dressed up the sentiments in language still more splendid than I have used now.'[3]

This rhetorical type of personification is taken one step further in Old Comedy when concepts are represented physically and actually embodied on stage: The People (Demos) in *Knights*, Reconciliation (Diallage) in *Lysistrata*, Right and Wrong in *Clouds*, to name but a few. In this category we could also place the Muse of Euripides in Aristophanes' *Frogs* (1305–07), summoned on to the stage by Aeschylus to accompany his parody of

[2] Whitman 1987, 271. For other definitions of 'personification' and *prosopopoeia*, see e.g. Stafford 2000, 3–9.

[3] Trans. R. Waterfield, Penguin 1990. On the history of representations of the choice of Heracles in art and literature see Panofsky 1930, Galinsky 1972; on the 'choice', and Heracles' general penchant for involvement with personifications, see Stafford 2005.

Euripides' choral lyrics (1304–64) in the contest between the two poets. 'Where's that girl with the castanets?', asks Aeschylus. 'Aha! the Muse of Euripides! Come along, my dear, stand over here. Just the right accompaniment for this kind of lyric.' And Dionysus interjects: 'This Muse certainly wasn't playing the Lesbian part', a remark whose precise significance is now irrecoverable, though there is surely some kind of sexual innuendo contained in it. Perhaps she is a prostitute, perhaps an ugly old hag, but she is certainly cheap and vulgar, because this is how Aristophanes' Aeschylus wants to characterize Euripides' poetry. As Edith Hall puts it:

> ... her social status is clearly not high, which thus makes the Muse of Euripides consonant with the *Frogs*' overall picture of this tragedian as a purveyor of unheroic individuals, domestic plots, colloquial speech and a 'democratised' type of tragedy in which women and servants speak as much as the male householder.[4]

Euripides' Muse stands for his poetry and personifies its qualities. But, as a Muse, is she not also the source of his inspiration – a promiscuous mistress with whom he consorts to produce his vulgar melange of lyrics? Plato later made explicit the latent implications of such imagery when in the *Republic* he pictured mimetic art as a hetaira whose intercourse with an inferior part of the soul produces base offspring (603a–b), and he characterizes poetry herself as a dangerously seductive female whose charms must be resisted at all costs (608a).[5] Plato's personification of poetry, which must surely be influenced by the metapoetic figures of Old Comedy, ties up with that whole complex of imagery which Alan Sommerstein discusses in this volume, in which the poet begets his poetry by mastering the female art-form of which he is the practitioner. Marina Warner has shown us how profoundly the tradition of personification has been shaped by this idea of man as maker and woman as made, of the male as artist and the female as art-work.[6] But I wonder if there is not a distinction to be made between the Muse and other personifications of literature and literary genres that we find in Old Comedy and elsewhere, such as Komodia, Poiesis or even Mousike,

[4] Hall 2000, 409. See also Harvey 2000, 105–06 and 105–06 n.64, with bibliography on discussions of the passage.

[5] See further Murray (forthcoming). Contrast the personification of philosophy as a noble woman, abandoned by her true lovers and wooed by a crowd of unworthy suitors at *Rep.* 495c, and see *Rep.* 490b where the higher part of the soul's intercourse with the Forms begets understanding and truth. In general on Plato's use of sexual imagery for mental creativity see Burnyeat 1977; Halperin 1990.

[6] Warner 1985, *passim*, but especially 224–40. See also Parker and Pollock 1981; Stafford 1998 (= Stafford 2000, 27–35); Hall 2000. On the implications of the Muse in relation to this gendering of creativity see e.g. Sharrock 2002, 209–10: 'It is only a small step from calling a woman "a Muse" to constructing her as "poetry" rather than "poet", as the "blank page" who "is a poem" rather than being someone who writes a poem.'

which essentially represent the product created by the poet. The word *mousa* can, of course, designate poetry and song just as Hephaestus, for example, can designate fire, or Dionysus wine – like any god the Muse can be identified with her gift. But the Muse is both a process and a product. What makes a Muse different from other metapoetic figures is that she is not confined to being an art-form (although she can be that), she is also the means by which the art-form is produced, or rather the source from which it derives. The Muse interjects something between the active male creator and the creation which he produces. So if she is a personification, what is she a personification of?

In the case of Aristophanes' depiction of Euripides' Muse it is obviously legitimate to talk of personification. But this *personalized* embodiment of poetry and inspiration is rather unusual. Of course there is a lot we do not know about all those lost comedies on literary themes – Cratinus' *Pytine*, Aristophanes' *Poiesis* and Phrynichus' *Mousai*, for example – in which female figures representing poetry and music appear to have been a regular feature.[7] If we had these plays the personification of Euripides' Muse might not seem quite so unusual, at least within the context of Old Comedy. But what about elsewhere? The poet Joseph Brodsky, inveighing against what he sees as the modern obsession with the notion of the mistress as Muse (that way round, not Muse as mistress) has some interesting things to say about ancient conceptions of the Muse:

> In general, apart from the beloved, the only feminine presence on a poet's agenda in antiquity was that of his Muse. The two would overlap in the modern imagination; in antiquity they didn't because the Muse was hardly corporeal. The daughter of Zeus and Mnemosyne (the goddess of memory), she had nothing palpable about her; the only way she would reveal herself to a mortal, particularly a poet, was through her voice; by dictating to him this or that line. In other words, she was the voice of language. Poetry, as Montale put it, is an uncurably semantic art, and what a poet actually listens to, what really does dictate to him the next line, is the language. And it is presumably the language's own gender in Greek (*glossa*) that accounts for the Muse's femininity ... The Muse, therefore, is not an alternative to the beloved, but precedes her. In fact, as an 'older woman', the Muse, née language, plays a decisive part in the sentimental development of a poet.[8]

[7] See Hall 2000; Harvey 2000 *passim*, but especially 103–8 on the Muses.

[8] Brodsky 1990, 1150. See also Graves 1952, 442–7. On the impersonality of the Muse compare the words of Elspeth Langlands on the poet, George Barker, a notorious lover of women: 'I don't think any of us really existed for him. He was in love with the muse' [*sic*], quoted by Anthony Thwaite, *TLS*, 22 February 2002, 4 in a review (entitled 'In love with the muse') of Robert Fraser, *The Chamaeleon Poet: a Life of George Barker*, London: Jonathan Cape 2001.

There are a number of things I find suggestive in these remarks, not least Brodsky's emphasis on the incorporeality of the antique Muse. When one thinks about it, Homer's Muses have very little physical existence: they meet Thamyris in *Iliad* 2.595ff., which of course implies their physical presence. They also appear on earth when, together with the Nereids, they lead the mourning at Achilles' funeral (*Od.* 24.60ff.). But what is highlighted here is the loveliness of their voices which moves every one of the Argives to tears, and we are given no sense of their visual appearance. When the poet himself invokes their presence – either singly or collectively with apparent indifference ('Sing, goddess, the wrath of Achilles', 'Tell me, Muse, of the man of many ways', 'Tell me now, Muses, who dwell on Olympus') – there is very little sense of embodiment here. What do the Muses look like? What attributes do they have? Rosemary Harriott comments on the difference between Homer and his successors in this respect:

> When a Muse was invoked, she might be honored with her titles or with a complimentary description. The care which a poet bestowed on such description is some indication of his devotion to a deity. His purpose is not informative: he is not concerned to tell his hearer precisely how the Muse was dressed. However, where the description is strongly visual, it is reasonable to assume that the writer has a mental picture of the Muse as a beautiful goddess, a being whose physical existence was real for him. Homer tells us nothing of the Muses' appearance, but thereafter poets are lavish with descriptive terms and seem to take delight in inventing fresh compliments. The Muses' hair and eyes, their clothes and hairbands all receive praise in language which was used for mortal women as well, but in addition they were paid the sort of honour usually reserved for deities, particularly in compound words including 'gold'. Hesiod, followed by Bacchylides and Pindar, mentions their gold hair-band, Euripides their gold sandals.[9]

Hesiod's *Theogony* is obviously a crucial text when considering issues of personification, and this applies to the Muses no less than to the other deities discussed in this volume. The poem begins, of course, with a graphic description of the Muses on Mount Helicon where they

> ... dance on their soft feet round the violet-dark spring and the altar of the mighty son of Kronos. When they have bathed their gentle skin in Permessos ... then on the highest slope of Helicon they make their dances, fair and lovely, stepping in time. From there they go forth, veiled in thick mist, and walk by night, uttering beautiful voice, singing of Zeus who bears the aegis ... and the rest of the holy family of immortals who are for ever. (3–21)[10]

[9] Harriott 1969, 14–15. See e.g. Pi. *Isthm.* 2.1–2; Ba. 5. 11–16; 9. 3; 13. 222. Empedocles' Muse (3.3–5) is 'white-armed', whereas Parmenides' unnamed goddess is only a voice. See further Harriott 1969, 66–7.

[10] Translations of Hesiod are from West 1988.

Hesiod goes on to describe how they met him whilst he was tending his sheep below Helicon and taught him fine singing, plucking for him a branch of laurel and breathing into him a wondrous voice so that he could sing of the blessed family of Olympian gods, and especially of the Muses themselves:

> They were born in Pieria, to Memory (Mnemosune), in union with the father, the son of Kronos; oblivion of ills and respite from cares. Nine nights Zeus the resourceful lay with her, going up to her holy bed far away from the immortals. And when the time came, as the months passed away and the seasons turned about, and the long tale of days was completed, she bore nine daughters – all of one mind, their carefree hearts set on song – not far from the topmost peak of snowy Olympus. There they have their gleaming dancing-places and their fair mansions; and the Graces and Desire dwell beside them, in feasting. Lovely is the sound they produce from their mouths as they sing and celebrate the ordinances and the good ways of the immortals, making delightful utterance. So then they went to Olympus, glorying in their beautiful voices, singing divinely. The dark earth rang around them as they sang, and from their dancing feet came a lovely sound as they went to their father. (53–71)

In this vivid description the Muses are fully anthropomorphized, and delightfully brought to life before the mind's eye. They are presented as the archetypal female chorus, with much emphasis on the loveliness of their voices and the sound of their feet as they dance. They are virginal, beautiful, associated with the wild, and somewhat mysterious, as befits these nymph-like creatures.[11] Like many other female collectives, such as the Horai, Charites or Nereids, they are envisaged as a group whose qualities and attributes are interchangeable. They are personified, but not personalized as individuals, even though Hesiod gives them individual names and is, apparently, the first to do so: Clio, Euterpe, Thalia, Melpomene, Terpsichore, Erato, Polymnia, Urania and Calliope (translated by West as Fame-spreading, Entertaining, Festive, Singing, Dance-delight, Lovely, Rich in themes, Celestial, Beautiful voice). For Hesiod these names signify collectively all the pleasures of poetry and song which the Muses embody, and they are not used to differentiate between individual Muses. But this act of naming is highly significant, for, unlike the word *mousa*, these names all have a meaning. The names in themselves derive from words and phrases describing the Muses' activities in the previous verses and thus could be said to personify the various aspects of poetry and song which came into being with their birth. But more than that, this granting of names is tantamount to an act of creation, as Thalmann remarks: 'with the transformation of verbs, nouns and adjectives into proper names, Hesiod virtually summons these goddesses into existence through language, just when he has told their birth

[11] On Muses as nymphs see most recently Larson 2001, 7–8, with bibliography, 282, n.15.

in anthropomorphic terms."[12] Although Hesiod himself presents the Muses as an interdependent group, his conferring of individual names upon them undoubtedly facilitated the process of crystallizing their functions which took place in later authors and, of course, in artistic representations from the Hellenistic period onwards.

Gombrich's observation that 'the natural dwelling place of personification is in the house of art'[13] is certainly borne out by the story of the Muses' representation in art. At first conceived as a collective without individual functions, they are scarcely distinguishable from other groups of female deities, such as the Horai and the Graces, and indeed the floral attributes which they carry in early iconography suggest that they were originally nature goddesses of the same ancestral stock as nymphs.[14] The fundamental image of the Muses in art, as in literature, is that of a chorus led by Apollo, and they are typically represented as a group of beautiful young girls dancing around their leader. All nine of them appear on the François vase (c. 570 BC) with their Hesiodic names, except that Stesichore ('she who sets up the chorus') replaces Terpsichore ('she who delights in the chorus').[15] As in Hesiod, Calliope is given prominence, and she is depicted facing the viewer, playing the syrinx. From the sixth century onwards, representations of Muses with musical instruments, indicating their special status as goddesses of *mousike*, become increasingly frequent, but it is not until the Hellenistic period that they begin to be individualized and given specific functions. As Cohon (1991–92) has shown, it is to Alexandrian scholarship that we owe the development of a codified iconography for each of the nine Muses, which then became relatively set in the art of the Roman Imperial period, when individual Muses can be identified by their attributes even when identifying inscriptions are lacking.

If you look up Muses in any mythological handbook today you will find entries such as the following in Jane Davidson Reid's *Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology*:

> Each Muse was responsible for a different field of endeavour, and each had several identifying attributes, although in the classical sources their names, functions and attributes varied. They were most commonly identified as Calliope, Muse of epic poetry, with a tablet and stylus as attributes; Euterpe, Muse of lyric poetry and flute-playing; Erato, Muse of love poetry and lyre-

[12] Thalmann 1984, 138. Cf. Walcot 1957 and West 1966 *ad loc.* for further details.

[13] Gombrich 1971, 254. Cf. Webster 1954, 12: 'Art must be regarded as one of the forces which helps to keep personification alive.' On the Muses in art see Queyrel 1992; Cohon 1991–92; Faedo 1981; Ridgway 1990.

[14] Queyrel 1992, 1. 658, 673–4; Larson 2001, 8.

[15] On the significance of this substitution see Stewart 1983, and for named Muses on vases see Queyrel 1992, 1. 679. On the chorus of the Muses see Calame 1997, 23–4; 30–1; 46–53, 90, 222–3.

> playing; Polymnia, Muse of sacred music and pantomime, with portative organ; Melpomene, Muse of tragedy, with ivy wreath, mask of tragedy, and sometimes club or sword; Thalia, Muse of comedy and bucolic poetry, with ivy wreath, mask of comedy, and shepherd's staff; Clio, Muse of history, with wreath and scroll; Terpsichore, Muse of choral dance, with lyre; and Urania, Muse of astronomy, with globe.[16]

The Muses here are personifications in the rhetorical sense, they are allegorical figures, each with her own particular sphere and function. We are worlds away from Hesiod, but Hesiod's naming of individual Muses undoubtedly played a crucial part in their transformation from anthropomorphic goddesses into personified rhetorical figures.

But the status of the Muses as personifications in this latter sense remains problematic. We tend to view them as embodiments of particular types of poetry and song, of different genres. But there is surely a difference between personifications of *genres* such as Tragedy, Comedy, Elegy and so on, and the personifications of the Muses of those genres. Is there a difference, for example, between Melpomene, the personified Muse of tragedy, and the personification of the genre of Tragedy herself?

On the famous relief from Priene, the Apotheosis of Homer, probably dedicated by a victorious poet in honour of his victory, Homer is seated on a throne in Zeus-like pose being worshipped by a number of personified figures, including Historia, Poiesis, Tragodia and Komodia (see *infra* pp. 183–4, fig. 13.2–3). Above is a mountain on which are depicted the nine Muses, together with their mother, Mnemosyne and their leader, Apollo; at the summit sits Zeus himself, presiding over this vision of Homer as the fount of all wisdom, knowledge and culture.[17] The Muses here must surely represent something other than personifications of genres of literature, and it is no surprise to find that scholars have had difficulty in identifying them individually. Cohon, for example, discusses the problems, and, noting that none of these Muses carries a theatrical mask, makes the following revealing remark:

> One might argue that the artist did not wish to give Melpomene and Thalia the attributes of tragedy and comedy since this would duplicate the attributes of the personifications of theater below and thus would be aesthetically unpleasing or *because this might cause some unnecessary, complex, and abstract explanation of the differing nature of a personification and Muse.*[18]

[16] Reid 1993, 671–2. This iconography is based on the standard portrayal of the Muses in art of the Roman Imperial period, for which see Faedo 1981.

[17] See Zanker 1995, 158–62.

[18] Cohon 1991–92: 76 n.44; my italics.

As I said before in relation to the presentation of Euripides' Muse in Aristophanes' *Frogs*, the Muse is not simply poetry or song (although she can be that), she is also its origin and source.

What I am suggesting is that there is more to the Muse than metonymy, and the question of what it is that the Muse represents is a problem right from the start. Tony Nuttall has some interesting things to say when considering the question 'who or what was the Muse?':

> The Muse is that, other than 'I', here and now which makes the poem. Already, however, the phraseology is potentially misleading, since the twentieth century reader could easily take this to be an impersonalist theory. Although the Muse is other than the poet's ego, the Muse is herself a person ... It may be said that in ascribing the poem to the Muse, the bard simply christens (names) the problem, rather than explains it.[19]

Perhaps we could say that the Muses are, amongst other things, personifications of the psychological faculties that constitute inspiration, but that still leaves many questions to be answered.

Not least of these questions relates to the perennially fascinating issue of gender. Why are the Muses female, or rather, what is the significance of their femininity? It will be useful here to recall some of the points that Nicole Loraux makes in her essay 'What is a goddess?'. A goddess, she says, is not a woman – that is, when thinking about goddesses we must always ask ourselves the question, 'to what extent does the divine take precedence over the feminine in a goddess?'[20] When Homer describes in *Iliad* 2.594–600 how the Muses met the bard Thamyris and punished him for presuming to challenge them to a singing contest – they maimed him and deprived him of his musical ability – what is important here is not their gender, but their divinity. Unlike, for example, the Sirens, who symbolize the seductive threat inherent in song and lure men to their deaths, the Muses (in Homer's version of the Thamyris story, at least) are dangerous as goddesses rather than as females. It fits in with the general picture which we have of the way in which the Greek gods dealt with overweening mortals, for it is a classic case of *hubris*.[21]

On the other hand, the Muses are plural and, as Loraux says, when discussing those groups of collective divinities who are so frequently female

---

[19] Nuttall 1992, 220, much influenced by Dodds 1951, for whom the Muse should be 'interpreted in terms of a traditional belief-pattern – the feeling that creative thinking is not the work of the *ego*' (81).

[20] Loraux 1992, 19. Cf. 19–20: 'The word *thea* is a feminine form, and in sculpture the *thea* was always represented as a female; yet there is no evidence that in a goddess the feminine attributes had greater importance than the divine ... who can say whether epiphany is not a form – the theomorphic form – of metamorphosis?'

[21] See further Murray 2002, 35–8.

in Greek thought, it seems no accident that the feminine and the plural should coincide. For this fondness for female multiplicity suggests a tendency to generalize, to de-individualize, when talking about the divine in the feminine.[22] These observations certainly seem apt in relation to the Muses: as I said earlier Hesiod's Muses are personified, but they are not personalized as individuals, despite their individual names. It is perhaps also relevant that many of these female collectives, and particularly those most closely associated with the Muses (nymphs, Charites, Horai) are concerned in one way or another with growth, nurturing and the natural world: in the mythic imagination inspiration and the productivity of nature go hand in hand.

The gender of the Muses is not explicitly foregrounded in Homer, but as the Muses become more strongly visualized and depicted as desirable females, so there is greater scope for exploiting the implications of their femininity in physical terms, as we have seen in the case of Aristophanes and the Muse of Euripides. But quite apart from any focus on their feminine embodiment, it is not without interest that the male poet should present himself as deriving inspiration from a female source. The relationship between poet and Muse is, of course, variously depicted and open to a number of possible interpretations. When a poet invokes a Muse there is always the question of who is controlling whom. For some the figure of the Muse represents the appropriation of female power by the male. Anne Bergren, for example, suggests that the very notion of a female Muse of epic poetry can be read as a male appropriation of female powers of speech, since both the attribution of narrative power to one or more of the Muses and the claim to inspiration by them are masculine initiatives. We see this process at work in Hesiod's *Theogony*, she argues, where a male author ascribes a kind of speech to a female and then makes it his own.[23] But it could equally be argued that since the poet's power derives from the Muse, it is she who is ultimately in control. It all depends on how we read the figure of the Muse. Is she a real external force, a projection of the poet's own mind, or the embodiment of the tradition on which the poet draws? When a poet invokes a Muse, should that be Muse or muse? At what point does the Muse cease to have religious force and become a figure of speech? These questions are

[22] Loraux 1992, 25–8. See also Hadzisteliou-Price 1971; Larson 2001, *passim*, but see especially 7–8, 259–64, summarized thus: 'These pluralities are a firmly embedded conceptual feature of Greek religious thought, one that is applicable most often to female figures ... Duplication or multiplication seems to have strengthened the functional potency of the particular figure ... Also significant is the correspondence between many of these pluralities and the ubiquitous choruses and cult societies of the ancient Greek world', 259–60.

[23] Bergren 1983. On the significance of the use of female figures to license male speech in Greek culture see also Arthur 1983; Halperin 1990, *passim*, but especially 285–92. On issues of gender in relation to the Muse see also Spentzou and Fowler 2002.

impossible to answer, and indeed are perhaps the wrong questions to ask, for they are not categories which can be readily applied to early Greek ways of thinking about the world.

When I began to think about questions of personification in relation to the Muse I assumed that a key issue would be the development of the notion of a personalized Muse, not only because the artist and his Muse is such a familiar cliché in later literature, but also because almost from the start there is a kind of intimacy implied between poet and Muse: 'tell *me*, Muse, of the man of many ways' (*Od.* 1.1); 'tell *me* now, Muses' (*Il.* 2.484ff.). There is the suggestion, as Tony Nuttall (1992, 6) puts it, that the Muse privately communicates that which the poet publishes. The privileged relationship, as it were, personalizes the Muse and enables the poet to speak of the Muse as 'his'. This view of the Muse as in some sense belonging to the poet differentiates the Muse from other divinities, and encourages us to think in terms of personification, for no other deity can be appropriated in this way: no poet speaks, for example, of 'my Apollo', or 'my Dionysus' as the inspirer of his song. Alison Sharrock, discussing this point in relation to Ovid's poetry, observes that the gender of the Muses seems pertinent here.[24] But that is not to say that the Muse herself should necessarily be thought of as a woman: she is also divine, and, as Loraux says, a goddess is not a woman.

For us it is all too easy to turn the Muse into a woman, to substitute a person for the personification which the Muse might be said to represent. But in Greek literature outside Old Comedy there is very little suggestion that a poet's individual Muse could be embodied in an actual woman. This may be partly a question of belief, of course, and it is interesting in this respect that the notion of the personalized Muse does not appear before the fifth century.[25] But it may also be a question of genre: the Muses of epic, for example, are figures of authority who need to be invested with the high seriousness suitable to the loftiness of their subject matter. Aristophanes' portrayal of Euripides' Muse in the *Frogs*, on the other hand, is typical of Comedy's tendency to take metaphor literally, to turn abstract into concrete for comic effect. The eroticizing of the relationship between poet and Muse is another feature which might be similarly interpreted – at any rate the long-lived *topos* of the Muse as mistress seems to make its first appearance

[24] Sharrock 2002, 210, n.14: 'Poets, particularly Ovid, often talk about "my muse" as if it were something not wholly separate from themselves... They can even do so when using a personal name of a muse, for example, *Thalia mea* (Ov. *Trist.* 4.10.56, 5.9.31), *mea Calliope* (*Trist.* 2.568). But I don't think a poet ever talked about "my Apollo", or envisaged his Augustan poetry as "my Augustus". Men, whether divine or imperial or otherwise, are not subject to appropriation in such a way.'

[25] The earliest known example is Euripides' Muse as portrayed by Aristophanes. For later references and discussion of the topic see Haüssler 1973; Harvey 2000, 106–08.

here. W.H. Auden's description of the Muse as coquette would not be out of place on the comic stage:

> It is true that, when he is writing a poem, it seems to a poet as if there were two people involved, his conscious self and a Muse whom he has to woo or an angel with whom he has to wrestle, but, as in an ordinary wooing or wrestling match, his role is as important as Hers. The Muse, like Beatrice in *Much Ado*, is a spirited girl who has as little use for an abject suitor as she has for a vulgar brute. She appreciates chivalry and good manners, but she despises those who will not stand up to her and takes a cruel delight in telling them nonsense and lies which the poor little things obediently write down as 'inspired' truth. [26]

Auden's imagined Muse, bodied forth in female form, is in reality a part of himself, a figure on to whom he projects the mysterious aspects of the creative process. But given the female gender of the Muse, there is always the tendency to objectify her as an individual living woman, to turn the personification into a person: hence the attraction of the *topos* of the mistress as Muse. We can see this process at work in the depiction of the mistress in Latin love elegy, where the implied equation of Muse and *puella* is part of the dynamic of the genre.[27] But the complexity of the Muse figure resists any easy classification. In *Amores* 3.1.1, in a scene clearly reminiscent of Heracles' choice between Virtue and Vice, Ovid describes how he was walking in a wooded grove, wondering what work his Muse should venture on (*quod mea, quaerebam, Musa moveret opus*, 3.1.6). Up came Elegy, beautiful, and wearing the flimsiest of dresses, her hair elegantly coiffured and perfumed; but she seemed to have one foot longer than the other. Tragedy arrived on the scene too, striding in with darkened brow, her long robe trailing on the ground; in her left hand she held a kingly sceptre, and a Lydian buskin bound her foot. Each figure addresses Ovid in turn: Tragedy complains that his Muse has simply been playing (*lusit tua Musa*, 3.1.27) and that it is time now for Ovid to turn to more weighty themes; Elegy reminds him of all that she has done for him in the past, claiming that it was she who first awakened his poetic gift by making 'the seeds of his mind fruitful' (*prima tuae movi felicia semina mentis*, 3.1.59 – the familiar metaphor of procreation). The figures of Elegy and Tragedy are here endowed with the attributes of the genres which they embody, and are clearly personifications in the way that the Muse is not. Some have wanted to see Elegy and Tragedy themselves as Muses, and Elegy is indeed endowed with the body

[26] Auden 1963, 16.

[27] See Sharrock 2002, 225–6: 'Since in these poems [sc. Ovid's *Amores*] loving and writing poetry are so intimately entwined, the object of desire necessarily becomes the lover-poet's Muse'. There is much also of relevance in Wyke 2002, though her prime emphasis is on the mistress as a textual figure rather than as Muse.

of the elegiac mistress, as Maria Wyke puts it.[28] But Ovid's Muse seems to me to be something more than the work which he creates, she is also its source and inspiration – which brings me back to the beginning of my paper.

One striking difference between the Muse and other sorts of personification is that the Muse can be individualized and tailor-made to suit the needs of all types of poet. This openness to appropriation also differentiates Muses from other divinites, as I have already said. Whether she is viewed as an anthropomorphic goddess or as a metaphorical figure, the Muse remains a somewhat puzzling phenomenon, for she is both personal and impersonal. She is not a personification because she is not an abstract; on the other hand if personification is not just a trick of language but a way of mastering the complexities of life and imposing order on the world,[29] she does not really fit in there either. For if she is a personification, what is she a personification of? Perhaps she is not a personification after all; rather, in Joseph Brodsky's words, 'The Muse's main trait is that she is ultimately indefinable.'

[28] Wyke 2002, 122. For Elegy and Tragedy as Muses see e.g. Wilkinson 1955, 115; Griffin 1985, 105.

[29] See Burkert 1985, 184–6.

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

12

A lover of his art: the art-form as wife and mistress in Greek poetic imagery

Alan H. Sommerstein

Pseudo-Plutarch *On Music* (1141d–1142a) quotes from Pherekrates' comedy *Cheiron* a long speech (Pherekrates fr. 155 K–A) by the personification Music (Mousike) – at one point apparently called instead Poetry (Poiesis). She had come on stage looking bruised and battered (ὅλην κατηκισμένην τὸ σῶμα) and been met by Justice (Dikaiosyne), who asked her how this had happened; and in reply she blamed her sorry state on four[1] lyric poets – Melanippides, Kinesias, Phrynis and Timotheos – who had successively 'taken' her,[2] i.e. lived with her as their wife or mistress.[3] The passage has many difficulties, not least the order in which the four are mentioned;[4] but it is clear that all four are said to

[1] Or possibly five: ps.-Plut. quotes three lines of Music's speech (Pherekrates fr. 155.26–8) separately from the rest, in a context which suggests that he takes them to be concerned with Philoxenos of Kythera. Philoxenos, however, was only born in the mid-430s (*FGrH* 239 A 69) and is not mentioned in any fifth-century text; whereas Music's relationships with Melanippides, Kinesias and Phrynis are described as belonging to the past (of each she says that he *was* [ἦν] an adequate or endurable partner [vv.6, 13, 17]), she speaks of Timotheos mainly in primary tenses (κατορώρυχε καὶ διακέκναικ', vv.19–20, παρελήλυθεν, v.23, κἂν ἐν τύχῃ, v.24), suggesting that with him she is bringing her story right up to date and that therefore no other partner can be mentioned after him. Bergk was probably right to place the three extra lines between vv.23 and 24, where they will refer to Timotheos.

[2] Melanippides is spoken of as λαβών ... με (vv.3–4) and both he and Phrynis are described as ἀποχρῶν ἀνὴρ ἔμοιγε, 'an adequate man/husband for me' (vv.6–7 and, with a different word-order, v.17).

[3] Mistress, according to Dobrov and Urios-Aparisi (1995, 157–8) who insist that she is portrayed as a *hetaira*; Henderson (2000, 143) argues that her status is left ambiguous.

[4] One would have expected Kinesias to follow rather than precede Phrynis. Phrynis was a well established figure by 423 BC and may have won a competition as early as 446 (cf. Ar. *Clouds* 969–971 and Davison 1958, 40–41), whereas the first datable mention of Kinesias is in 414 (Ar. *Birds* 1372–1409) and he was still active in the late 390s (Ar. *Ekkl.* 330); as late as 420 a character in Pherekrates' *Agrioi* (fr. 6) had condemned the musicianship of Kinesias' father Meles without making any reference to his son. Meineke accordingly transposed the Phrynis section of the speech (vv.14–18) to precede the Kinesias section (vv.8–13); the transposition is perhaps

From *Personification In The Greek World: From Antiquity To Byzantium*, eds Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Copyright © 2005 by Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Published by Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, UK.

have committed aesthetic offences against music, the art, which, thanks to *double entendre*, can also be understood as sexual offences against Music, the woman.[5] One word which Pherekrates finds particularly useful in this regard is *chorde*, which means 'string of a lyre' but also 'sausage' (because they are both made of gut) and therefore, in comedy, 'phallus'.[6] Music's lovers/husbands are notably better equipped in this respect even than the eponym of Aristophanes' *Triphales*: Melanippides and Timotheos have twelve *chordai* apiece, and Phrynis, though he only has five, can use them in twelve *harmoniai* or 'fittings'![7]

This is the most brutally physical of a whole series of exploitations in comedy of the idea of personifying music, poetry, or a poetic genre, as a woman who is the wife or mistress of one or more poet-musicians.[8] One or two fragments have sometimes been taken as indications that personified art-forms were already being brought on stage in the 430s or early 420s;[9] but the first *known* appearance of the specific theme that we are considering is in a one-liner in the parabasis of Aristophanes' *Knights*, produced in 424 – and I strongly suspect that that was the moment of its actual birth. For the idea appears out of the blue. The chorus-leader is explaining why Aristophanes has never before acted as the official producer (*didaskalos*) of a comedy: it is not, he says, out of mere stupidity (*anoia*, 515), but because he regarded comic production (*komododidaskalia*) as the most difficult job (*ergon*) in the world (515–16). Personification, at this point, is not even on the horizon: an *ergon* is about as unpersonlike a thing as one can speak of. And then in the next line (517), courtesy of a feminine pronoun, the deed is done:

πολλῶν γάρ δὴ πειρασάντων αὐτὴν ὀλίγοις ξαρίσασθαι.
For verily many have courted her, but only to a few has she granted her favours.

---

supported by the fact that whereas Melanippides and Phrynis are rated 'adequate' (ἀποχρῶν) by Music, Kinesias is called only 'endurable' (ἀνεκτός, v.13), a step towards the climax represented by Timotheos in whom she sees no redeeming feature at all. Dobrov and Urios-Aparisi (1995, 150 n.46) argue unconvincingly that the sequence of the four partners is not to be taken as chronological.

[5] A selection: χαλαρωτέραν ... ἐποίησε, 'loosened me up' (v.5), ἴδιον στρόβιλον ἐμβαλών, 'inserting a twist/pine-cone of his own' (v.14), κάμπτων με καὶ στρέφων, 'bending and twisting me' (v.15, cf. vv.9, 28), κατορώρυχε, 'has dug into me from below' (v.19), ἀπέδυσε κἀνέλυσε, 'stripped and undid me' (v.25), κατεμέστωσε, 'filled me up' (v.28). See Henderson 1991, 161 n.49, 170, 176, 177, 180.

[6] For phallic sausages cf. Hipponax fr. 84.17 West ('like one giving an ἀλλᾶς a rub-down') and (both with χορδή) Ar. *Ach.* 1119–21 (see López Eire 1996, 118), *Frogs* 339. Henderson 1991 surprisingly omits χορδή entirely.

[7] Pherekrates fr. 155.5, 25, 16 respectively.

[8] Some of these, from Kratinos' *Pytine* onwards, have now been interestingly discussed by Hall 2000.

[9] Kratinos fr. 38; Telekleides fr. 15. *Non liquet.*

Suddenly *komododidaskalia* is a woman (to be precise, a *hetaira*), dramatists are her (would-be) lovers, and mastery of the art is imaged as sexual conquest. It cannot be proved conclusively that the idea was new, but if it was not, it hardly seems worth taking the trouble of inserting a second-hand metaphor (and indeed drawing attention to it by the particle δῆ, 'truly', 'verily', 'as a matter of fact') when the argument of the passage in no way requires it: if 517 had been lost from the text, we would not have known that anything was missing.[10]

What happened next also suggests that Aristophanes was the creator, or rather inspirer, of this topos. His remarks on the difficulty of being a comic producer are a lead-in to a review of the history of the genre (518–40), whose theme is that Athenian spectators are fickle and often reject dramatists they had once idolized. Three instances are cited. Two, both couched entirely in past tenses, are the long-dead Magnes (520–25) and the more recently dead (or retired) Krates (537–40). The third, sandwiched between them, is Kratinos (526–36), who was very much alive and indeed competing against Aristophanes on this very occasion:[11] his position in the listing is as clearly designed to insult him as the way he is described (531–6) as a drunken driveller whose achievements belong to the past and whose place *now* is definitely in the audience, not on stage.

Fourteen months later, at the City Dionysia of 423, Kratinos produced one of the most remarkable comedies ever staged in Athens, *Pytine*, 'The Wicker Flask'.[12] It was explicitly a satire on himself: he was the leading character. It attacked Aristophanes as a plagiarist, 'speaking the words of Eupolis' (fr. 213):[13] the two were again competing against each other (Aristophanes' play was *Clouds*), and this time Kratinos triumphed and Aristophanes suffered the greatest humiliation of his career so far.[14] And (shamelessly, in the true tradition of Old Comedy, doing what he criticized others for doing) Kratinos took up Aristophanes' little metaphor of a sexual relationship between artist and art-form and based an entire play on it.

According to a scholiast on *Knights* 400, 'Kratinos created the fiction that Comedy was his wife and wished to leave the marital home and bring suit against him for ill-treatment; friends of Kratinos [evidently the chorus of the play] happened to come by, begged her not to do anything rash, and asked what had caused her hostility, and she blamed Kratinos because he was no longer composing comedy but devoted his time to getting drunk.' We have

[10] In contrast, the one-liner in *Frogs* 95, to which we shall come presently, is tightly knitted into its context and could not be removed without serious damage.

[11] Kratinos test. 7b K–A.

[12] On this play see now Luppe 2000; Rosen 2000; Hall 2000, 410–11.

[13] Probably a reference to the actual or alleged collaboration of Eupolis in *Knights* (cf. Schol. Ar. *Clouds* 553, citing Eupolis fr. 89).

[14] His public reaction to the defeat will be found in *Wasps* 1015–59 and in *Clouds* 518–27 (written for the revised version of the play).

several fragments of Comedy's complaint. At one time Kratinos had merely run after other women (193); that had been bad enough, but at least 'I was his wife then; I'm not any more' (194). Now all he fancies is handsome young ... and as the gender is masculine we expect 'boys', but it turns out to be 'wines' (195);[15] he is spending almost his last penny on them and letting Comedy starve: 'I can't see so much as a bone or a vegetable <in the larder>' (204). Kratinos spoke brilliantly in his defence (197, 198), but apparently neither his wife nor his friends were won over, and they seem to have tried to force him into abstinence by smashing, or having smashed, every vessel in his house that could possibly be used to hold wine (199); no doubt it was this that drove him to the 'wicker flask' of the play's title, which is of course unbreakable (but needs to be sealed with pitch, 201). We need not try to follow the plot further; suffice it to say that while Kratinos will surely not have done anything so unDionysiac as giving up drink, nevertheless he and Comedy were eventually reconciled (like other married couples in other comedies)[16] and towards the end of the play Comedy was shown giving her husband dramaturgical advice:

> You're talking nonsense. Put him in a cameo scene (*epeisodion*). He'll be a great laugh, Kleisthenes[17] playing dice in the flower of his beauty (208) ... Write in Hyperbolos, snuffing him out in the lamp-market[18] (209).

Pherekrates' *Cheiron* was one of his last plays, probably produced close to 415.[19] It seems to have been about the education of the young Achilles:[20] Cheiron was 'most just (*dikaiotatos*) of Centaurs' (*Iliad* 11.832) and Achilles a skilful amateur musician (*Iliad* 9.186–94), so Music and Justice would be appropriate assistant tutors for him. Kratinos was now dead, and death had transformed him, in the eyes of other comic poets, from a rival into an icon: as early as 421 Aristophanes can call him *sophos*, 'skilful', without apparent irony (*Peace* 700),

---

[15] νῦν δ' ἢν ἴδῃ Μενδαῖον ἡβῶντ' ἀρτίως / οἰνίσκον, ἕπεται κἀκολουθει καὶ λέγει, / 'οἴμ' ὡς ἁπαλὸς καὶ λευκός. ἆρ' οἴσει τρία;' 'But now, if he sees a newly matured young Mendaian ... wine, he follows it, dogs its footsteps, and says "My, how tender, how fair! Will it/he take three [parts of water/successive copulations]?"'.

[16] Notably in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* and, later, in Menander's *Epitrepontes*.

[17] Kleisthenes was a beardless man with a reputation for effeminacy; on his one certain appearance in an actual comedy he is at first mistaken for a woman (Ar. *Thesm.* 571–3). Presumably it would be 'a great laugh' to put him on stage as a gambler because gambling was thought of as an exclusively male activity.

[18] Hyperbolos, in 423 a rising but already much satirized politician (cf. Ar. *Ach.* 846, *Knights* 1303ff, 1363, *Clouds* 623, 876, 1065, Kratinos fr. 283), owed some of his wealth to a lamp-making business (Ar. *Knights* 1315, *Clouds* 1065, *Peace* 690).

[19] When it was produced, Kinesias can no longer have been a very new figure in the poetic/musical world, because he had already been superseded by Timotheos in the role of chief debaucher of Music (Pherekrates fr. 155.8–13+19–25); cf. note 4 above. Timotheos had been born close to the middle of the century (cf. *FGrH* 239 A 76).

[20] It is likely that he is the second speaker in fr. 159, which echoes *Iliad* 9.270–71.

and by 405 we find him being accorded almost divine status.[21] In this play Pherekrates seems to have been aiming to cast himself (rather than, say, Aristophanes or Eupolis) as Kratinos' true heir and successor: in its main theme it recalls Kratinos' *Cheirones*, while the Music-Justice scene is reminiscent of *Pytine*. Reminiscent, but not a repeat. Comedy, as we have seen, complains of the drunkenness, infidelity and extravagance of one husband, none other than the author of the play, to whom she is eventually reconciled; Music complains of physical and sexual abuse by four successive husbands/lovers, composers in a rival genre, from all of whom she has evidently run away to find refuge in the home of the righteous Cheiron – where perhaps she finds also a new and more congenial lover: Achilles' contempt for the offer of 'seven cheap whores' (fr. 159) and the training he apparently receives in social graces (fr. 162) suggest that he might look with favour on a female of some intellectual and cultural accomplishments.

There was probably a third extended treatment of the theme in the comedy *Poiesis* by Aristophanes or Archippos.[22] Very little is known of this play; our main clue to the plot comes from a papyrus fragment (fr. 466) which can be assigned to this play because it luckily includes (at vv.4–5) one of the only two known ancient quotations from it. The main speaker seems to be the spokesman for a delegation from 'the whole of Greece' (v.3) who 'have come in search of a woman who is said to be with you' (vv.4–5); later it is said, almost certainly of this woman, that she 'claimed to have been wronged' (*ephask' adikoum*) (v.14, cf. *adikoumene* v.16). It is, to say the least, extremely tempting to identify her as Poiesis; no ordinary human woman, unless a Helen, would have caused 'the whole of Greece' to send a mission to retrieve her. But where had she gone? Had she fled to the underworld, which received a steady stream of comic visitors *à la recherche du temps perdu* in the last two decades of the fifth century?[23] Or was this play designed as a sequel to that of Pherekrates, with Poiesis having to be enticed back from the cave of Cheiron? And who were the delegates? We cannot tell, but we can see that the now familiar theme has been turned round to another new angle.

It appears for the last time – so far as our information goes – in another one-liner in Aristophanes' *Frogs*. Dionysos, eager to go to Hades to bring back Euripides, is asked by Herakles whether there are not 'myriads of other young lads ... writing tragedies' who are just like Euripides, only more so (89–91). He replies in tones of contempt:

[21] Ar. *Frogs* 357, where to be a true comic poet is to be 'initiated in the Bacchic mysteries of Kratinos *taurophagos* "bull-eater"' – an epithet of Dionysos (Soph. fr. 668).

[22] For its disputed attribution see Ar. test. 1.61 K–A.

[23] In Eupolis' *Demes* and Aristophanes' *Gerytades* (where the mission to the underworld consists of poets [Ar. fr. 156] and where, if Ar. fr. 591 belongs to this play, it may be Poiesis that they bring back to earth) and, most famously, *Frogs*.

> Those are left-overs, mere chatterboxes, 'quires of swallows', debauchers of their art, who, if they so much as get a chorus, disappear again pretty rapidly *after pissing over Tragedy just once.* If you looked for a really *potent* poet ... you couldn't find one any more. (92–7)

The apparent contrast between 'pissing over Tragedy' (προσουρήσαντα τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ) and 'a potent (*gonimon*, 'fecund') poet' suggests that the sexual metaphor is implicit again here. Tragedy is imaged as a *hetaira*. To be awarded a chorus is, as it were, to secure a first date with her; but for these 'young lads' the first date is also the last, for they are so lacking in masculine power as to be totally incapable of giving her any satisfaction. As often in Aristophanes, the joke can simultaneously be taken in other ways: 'pissing over Tragedy' is not only evidence of lack of manhood, it is also in itself a gross insult.[24]

Here the trail ends. In the fourth-century comedy *Poiesis* by Antiphanes, to be sure, somebody speaking on behalf of comedy complains (fr. 189) that tragic poets have an unfair advantage over comic ones because their audience knows the plot in advance, and it has often been supposed that the speaker is Comedy herself.[25] Whether or not that is the case,[26] nothing in the 23-line quotation suggests that the speaker is to be imagined as involved in any kind of sexual relationship with a poet (nor even, indeed, that the speaker is female).

Can we determine how the theme originated? An important clue is that it is not only personified art-forms whom comedy can treat as being sexually possessed by artists (or performers); similar language is also used of Muses (see Murray *infra*) and Graces, the divine patrons of art and of aesthetic beauty. The clearest and crudest case is that of the 'Muse of Euripides' in *Frogs* 1305ff: references to prostitutes close to her entrance and exit[27] and a joke linking her with fellatio (1308)[28] make it clear (as doubtless did her appearance and dress) that she is to be thought of *as* a prostitute. Two choral odes in earlier Aristophanic plays hint via *double entendre* at the idea of Muses or Graces as sexual playmates. When a lyric in *Peace*, adapted from the *Oresteia* of Stesichoros, begins with the lines

---

[24] Cf. *Ekkl.* 832, Dem. 54.4.

[25] It can hardly be Poiesis (as Bain 1977, 189 n.1, Handley 1985, 411–12), since the speaker contrasts 'tragedy' (v.1) with 'us' (v.17) without denying that tragedy is a type of poetry (ποίημα) (v.2).

[26] The statement that '*we* don't have these [advantages], but have to invent everything' (ἡμῖν δὲ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ πάντα δεῖ εὑρεῖν, vv.17–18) suggests, rather, that the speaker is a comic *poet* (so rightly Hall 2000, 414): Comedy herself would have used the first person *singular* (the use of the first person plural by a single person speaking of him/herself is a tragic, not a comic idiom).

[27] Πορνῳδιῶν, 'whore-songs' (1301); ἀνὰ τὸ δωδεκαμήχανον / κυρήνης μελοποιῶν, 'you [Euripides] who manoeuvre your parts in the twelve tricks of Kyrene' [a *hetaira* also mentioned at *Thesm.* 98] (1327–8).

[28] αὕτη ποθ' ἡ Μοῦσ' οὐκ ἐλεσβίαζεν, οὔ, (1308), 'This Muse was certainly no Lesbian [i.e. (i) dignified lyricist in tradition of Terpandros, (ii) *fellatrix*]'.

O Muse, thrust wars aside and dance
with me, thy friend (*tou philou*) ... (*Peace* 775–7)

there is no reason yet why anyone should remember that *philos* is the word typically used by *hetairai* to refer to the men who provide them with their living.[29] At the end, however, it may be different: after flinging some vicious insults at the tragic dramatists Morsimos and Melanthios (797–814), the chorus conclude:

Loose at them, divine Muse, a big fat glob
of spittle, and come sport
with me (*met' emou sympaize*) throughout this festival (815–17)

For *sympaizein* is the occupation of a *sympaistria*, and a *sympaistria* (*Frogs* 411) was a prostitute. In *Birds* it is now generally accepted[30] that the conclusion of the antode of the second parabasis (1097–1101) has an erotic subtext:

And I winter in cavern hollows,
sporting (*sympaizon*) with the mountain nymphs;
and in spring we feed on the *virginal*
white-swelling *myrtle-berries* and
the *garden fruits* (*kepeumata*) of the Graces.

And lastly (though chronologically it comes first), consider *Wasps* 1028: the dramatist, speaking through the chorus-leader as mouthpiece, having virtuously denied (1025–7) that he has ever exploited his fame to gain sexual success with boys, or consented to use comic satire to help a man take revenge on his ex-boyfriend, explains that his reason for refraining from such practices was

ἵνα ταῖς Μούσαις αἵσιν χρῆται μὴ προαγωγοὺς ἀποφήνῃ.
in order not to make the Muses he employs appear in the role of procurers.

At least, that (in substance) is how the line was translated in Sommerstein 1983, 101: only while preparing this paper did I perceive that the phrase ταῖς Μούσαις αἵσιν χρῆται is perfectly capable of being taken as meaning 'the Muses he sleeps with'[31] – at least once the preceding lines have conditioned us to think in erotic terms.

Now Muses and Graces are of course goddesses, and though they are by no means permanent virgins[32] (whatever the chorus of *Frogs* may say[33]), it is

[29] Cf. Xen. *Mem.* 3.11.4. In Ar. *Wealth* 975, contrariwise, an ageing *hetaira* uses the same word of a boyfriend who, far from providing her with a living, is provided with a living by her.

[30] See Henderson 1991, 134–5, 160; Dunbar 1995, 590–1.

[31] See LSJ χράω C IV.b.2.

[32] All nine Muses are recorded, by one source or another, as having had at least one child: see e.g. [Apoll.] *Bibl.* 1.3.2–4, Schol.^{A} *Iliad* 10.435, Schol. [Eur.] *Rhes.* 346 (citing Apollodoros *FGrH* 244 F 146).

[33] Ar. *Frogs* 875–6: ὦ Διος ἐννέα παρθένοι, ἀγναὶ / Μοῦσαι, 'ye nine pure virgin daughters of Zeus, O Muses'.

normally, as with all goddesses, decidedly inadvisable for mortal males to make a move on them unless positively invited to do so (as one Pieros apparently was by the Muse Clio).[34] It is not surprising to find that, with one exception to which I will come, none of the scores of references to Muses and Graces in archaic and early classical poetry contains anything that can be construed as hinting at a sexual relationship between Muse and artist. One man, however, was, or became, notorious for having made the attempt. This was the singer Thamyris. The story of his contest with the Muses, which ended in his losing his eyes and his power of song, was already well known in Homer's time (*Iliad* 2.594–600). We might suppose that this was just a typical case of a man foolishly claiming to be the superior of deities and suffering condign punishment for it. Several later sources, however, narrate the contest in very different terms; and one of them, Asklepiades (*FGrH* 12 F 10), ascribes his version to a fifth-century tragic dramatist. He names the dramatist as Aeschylus (fr. 376a), but this is most probably an error for Sophocles, who is known to have written a *Thamyras* [*sic*].[35] This is how Asklepiades tells the story:

> Thamyris was marvellously handsome, but had his right eye white [or 'blue'][36] and his left eye black. He thought himself superior to all others in song, and when the Muses came to Thrace, Thamyris proposed marriage to the whole lot of them (μνείαν ποιήσασθαι πρὸς αὐτὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ συνοικεῖν ἁπάσαις), saying that among the Thracians it was quite in order for one man to have many wives (φάσκοντα τοὶς Θρᾳξὶ νόμιμον εἶναι πολλαῖς τὸν ἕνα συνεῖναι). They challenged him to a song contest on the terms that if they won they could do as they pleased to him, and if he won, he could take as many of them for wives as he wanted (ὅσας ἂν αὐτὸς [surely αὐτῶν?] βούληται, τοσαύτας λαμβάνειν γυναῖκας).[37] This was agreed to, and the Muses, being victorious, took out (ἐξελεῖν) his eyes.[38]

Thamyras is likely to have been one of Sophocles' earliest plays (for he played the lead – and the lyre – himself),[39] and it seems to have drawn attention to the story: the contest first appears in art not long after the beginning of Sophocles' career,[40] more than one fifth-century representation highlights its erotic aspect

[34] *She* fell in love with *him* 'through the anger of Aphrodite' ([Apoll.] *Bibl.* 1.3.3).

[35] *Aliter* Hall 1989: 135–6; but it is easier to assume that Asklepiades named the wrong dramatist than that Aeschylus wrote a *Thamyris* to which no other source refers.

[36] The transmitted reading is λευκόν but we should probably read γλαυκόν, cf. Pollux 4.141, Schol.^{b} *Iliad* 2.595.

[37] At least in this version (cf. also Konon *FGrH* 26 F 1.7) Thamyris offered the Muses what passed, in his part of the world, for lawful marriage; in another, reported by [Apoll.] *Bibl.* 1.3.3 and Schol.^{A} *Iliad* 2.595, his prize if he won the contest was 'to have sex with all of them' (πλησιάσειν πάσαις).

[38] Most sources, following Homer, add that the Muses robbed Thamyris of his musicianship (cf. Soph. fr. 241, 244), and Schol.^{A} *Iliad* 2.595 says they drove him mad.

[39] *Life of Sophocles* 5.

[40] *LIMC* Thamyris 1 = Mousa 85 (c.465).

by including one or more Erotes or similar beings in the scene,[41] and in the 450s or 440s Polygnotos (who had put a lyre-playing Sophocles into one of the Stoa Poikile murals[42]) included a blind Thamyris with a smashed instrument, and wild hair and beard, in the underworld scene in the *lesche* of the Knidians at Delphi.[43]

It was about the same time that Pindar was composing the ode we know as the *Second Isthmian*. This ode commemorates a chariot victory by Xenokrates, the brother of Theron tyrant of Akragas; but Xenokrates was now dead, and the ode is addressed to his son Thrasyboulos. That Thrasyboulos is urged not to shroud his father's virtues, or the ode itself, in silence on account of 'envious hopes floating around men's minds' (vv.43–5) suggests that the family was in political eclipse and even danger – i.e. that the ode was written after c. 470 when Theron's son Thrasydaios was overthrown.[44] This is how it begins:

> The men of old, Thrasyboulos, who
> mounted the chariot of the gold-tiara'd Muses
> armed with the glorious lyre,
> they readily fired their honey-sweet songs like arrows at any boy
> whose beauty bore the delightful, seductive bloom
> of powerful Aphrodite (vv.1–5).

But then, having thus put us firmly in the mood of archaic love-poetry, Pindar proceeds:

> For the Muse was not yet then a working woman (*ergatis*) out for profit,
> nor were sweet, soft-toned songs
> sold (*epernanto*) by honey-voiced Terpsichore
> with their faces silvered;
> but now she bids us keep to the word
> of the Argive, which comes very close to the truth,
> 'Money, money is the man' – as he said
> when he lost his wealth and his friends together.
> But you are wise ... (vv.6–13)

Unless Pindar was guilty here of gross poetic incompetence, he designed lines 6–8 to suggest a comparison between the Muse and a prostitute or bawd. That is what *ergatis* meant to Archilochos, who used the word to insult Neoboule (Archil. fr. 208); there are plenty of verbs meaning 'sell' that Pindar could have used which do not share a root with the noun *porne* ('whore'); nor did he need to turn the 'sweet, soft-toned songs' into human females by specifying that it was their *faces* that were silvered. What Pindar expected his audience to make

[41] Though not before c. 410 (*LIMC* Thamyris 6, 7).

[42] *Life of Sophocles* 5.

[43] Paus. 10.30.8.

[44] Diodorus Siculus 11.53 (narrating the death of Theron, Thrasydaios' disastrous war against Syracuse, and his fall from power, all under the year 472/1).

of this, we cannot precisely tell; but one reader who knew much more about Pindar's poetry than we do, Kallimachos, was clearly in no doubt about the matter when he wrote

> I am not keeping my Muse as a working woman (*ergatis*)
> like the Kean, the descendant of Hyl(l)ichos. (Kall. fr. 222)

Kallimachos, that is, assumed that Pindar was here referring to the notoriously mercenary Simonides[45] (who belonged to the Kean family of the Hyllichidai) or perhaps to his nephew Bacchylides. I cannot now attempt a full interpretation of Pindar's ode; but it is worthwhile to point out that if Thrasyboulos is indeed 'wise', he will note, first, that a maxim which is said to come 'very close to the truth' is thereby said *not* to be the *actual* truth, and secondly, that friends who disappear as soon as wealth disappears are no true friends. In other words, Pindar is contrasting his own true friendship for the family, despite the recent decline in its fortunes, with the behaviour of other poets who, like bawds, have no friends, only customers.

Another attentive reader of the *Second Isthmian*, long before Kallimachos, was Aristophanes, who, as we have seen, claimed in *Wasps* to have refused to turn his Muse into a bawd. How can we be sure, though, that he had this ode of Pindar's in mind? For two reasons. First, he too has a rival poet in his sights: the scholia[46] confidently assert that he is criticizing Eupolis, their evidence being that Eupolis in a slightly later play, *Autolykos*, spoke of himself as 'going proudly round the wrestling-schools and showing off to the boys because of his victory'[47] (presumably saying, by way of retort to Aristophanes, 'yes, I do exploit my poetic prestige in my love life, and why on earth not?'). And secondly, he has just echoed another passage from the same poem, by speaking of himself (*Wasps* 1022) as '*charioteer* of a team of Muses that were not someone else's but his own'[48] (the image recurs at the end of the speech in 1050[49]).

Here and elsewhere, however, Aristophanes and his contemporaries have done far more than recycle the Pindaric trope. In this very passage, as we have seen, in the same breath as he denies having used the Muses as his bawds, he casually (though quietly and ambiguously) asserts that he is using them (all of them, apparently) as his sex-objects – precisely what Thamyris was blinded, and more, for aspiring to; and both he and Kratinos have previously claimed Comedy as mistress and wife respectively, and Comedy, though not a

[45] Simonides' avarice was already a byword in his lifetime, and not only among rival lyric poets (cf. Xenophanes fr. 21 DK).

[46] On *Wasps* 1025 and also on the parallel passage *Peace* 763.

[47] Eupolis fr. 65.

[48] οὐκ ἀλλοτρίων ἀλλ' οἰκείων μουσῶν στόμαθ' ἡνιοχήσας.

[49] εἰ παρελαύνων τοὺς ἀντιπάλους τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ξυνέτριψεν 'if while overtaking [lit. driving past] his rivals he wrecked his new concept'.

traditional goddess, is as immortal as Peace, Democracy, Poverty or any other personified abstraction.

But then that is the privilege of comedy. Bellerophon flew to heaven on Pegasos, or tried to, probably in order to cross-examine Zeus about the Problem of Evil (cf. Eur. fr. 286), and was thrown down to earth before he got there; Trygaios flies to heaven on a beetle in order to cross-examine Zeus as to why he is making the Greeks destroy each other (Ar. *Peace* 103–08), gets there safely, and comes back with Peace – not to mention two very beautiful Olympian girls, one of whom he marries while the other is handed over to be the plaything of the five hundred members of the *boule* (ibid. 713–17, 871–908). Typhoeus, the Giants and others made war on Zeus, were resoundingly defeated, and were consigned for eternity to various parts of Tartaros; Peisetairos in Aristophanes' *Birds*, and Chremylos in his *Wealth*, make war on Zeus and the gods, starve them out, and end triumphant with Zeus humbly suing for peace.[50] In comedy, and with one surviving exception[51] *only* in comedy, the normal hierarchy of the universe can be suspended, and just as the comic hero is free to commit *hybris* against disagreeable men (such as sycophants and oracle-mongers) and get away with it, so too he is free to commit *hybris* against gods and get away with it. And what is possible for the comic hero is also possible for the comic chorus and the comic poet – for all three can sometimes be treated as interchangeable *personae*, as in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* where both the chorus[52] and the hero[53] speak of the poet's recent experiences as their own. Poets had long been fond of calling themselves the servants or spokesmen of the Muses, or the beneficiaries of their gifts;[54] but they had never pretended to a more intimate association as Thamyris had done or as Pindar had accused his rivals of doing. Comedy, in this and in other things, could boldly go where no (sane) man had dared go before. It is significant, all the same, that all the most explicit language, and all the *extended* treatments of the theme, relate not to the Muses or the Graces but to Comedy and Poiesis and Music, who have no myth or cult, any more than do the divine brides of comedy like Opora (Harvest) in *Peace* and Basileia (Sovereignty) in *Birds*. Personification is the key to safe sex with immortals.

[50] Peisetairos at one point explicitly menaces a goddess (Iris) with a punitive rape (*Birds* 1253–6), and Iris' response 'my Father will put a stop to your insolence' (1259) proves an utterly empty threat.

[51] The exception is Aeschylus' *Eumenides*; see Sommerstein 1996, 287–8.

[52] Ar. *Ach.* 659–64.

[53] Ar. *Ach.* 377–82, 502–03.

[54] Cf. Murray 1981, 96–7.

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

13

Personifications of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in Hellenistic and Roman art*

Kristen Seaman

Today two images of Homer are exhibited side by side at the British Museum. One is a portrait of Homer (fig. 13.1). The other, though, is a relief that contains not only Homer but also personifications of the two epic poems attributed to him, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (fig. 13.2). This paper explores the main difference between the choice of modes in these two artworks – namely the presence of the personified text and how it constructs an image of authorship and reception.

Personifications of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are neither ubiquitous nor uniform, and so their presence in ancient culture presents some interesting questions. They appear in at least five ancient artworks from around the Mediterranean that range in date from the Hellenistic through Late Roman periods. Their iconography is not fixed, and their appearance, furthermore, is not limited to any one medium. They appear with Homer on a Hellenistic marble relief, the so-called Archelaos Relief (figs 13.2–3),[1] on a Roman silver

* My thanks to Ms Elizabeth Baughan, Professor Crawford Greenewalt, Jr., Professor Erich Gruen, Professor Christopher Hallett, Professor Judith Herrin, Ms Susan Rebecca Martin, Ms Isabelle Pafford, Professor Alan Shapiro, Professor R.R.R. Smith, Dr Emma Stafford, Professor Andrew Stewart and Professor Geoffrey Waywell. I also thank the University of California at Berkeley for the Archaeological Research Facility Stahl Grant and the Chancellor's Professorship Research Fund Grant that allowed me to examine artworks in European museums. All translations are my own.

[1] London, BM Inv. 2191. Found in Tor Ser Paolo outside Bovillae, Italy. Select bibliography: Pinkwart 1965a, with extensive previous bibliography; Pinkwart 1965b; Webster 1966, 145–7; Kabus-Jahn 1968; Thompson 1969; Charbonneaux, Martin, and Villard 1971, 292; Fraser 1972, 302–35; Brink 1972, 549–52; Thompson 1973, 90; Kyrieleis 1975, 44 fig. 167; Robertson 1975, 562–4 pl. 172c; Brunelle 1976, 54 ff.; Alföldi 1977, 11–12; Bieber 1977, 124 pl. 94, fig. 573; Onians 1979, 103–05; Hafner 1981, 281; Linfert 1983, 165–73; Carter 1984, 147; La Rocca 1984, 637–8; Pannuti 1984, 57; Sherwin-White 1984, 44–5, no. 55; Schachter 1986, 166–7 n.4; Pollitt 1986, 16 fig. 4; von Hesberg 1988, 333–6; Smith 1988, 10 n.25; Voutiras 1989; Green 1990, 358 fig. 127; Ridgway 1990, 257–8 pl. 133; Stewart 1990, 217–18 pls. 761–3; Fleischer 1991, 79

From *Personification In The Greek World: From Antiquity To Byzantium*, eds Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Copyright © 2005 by Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Published by Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, UK.

cup (figs 13.4),[2] in a marble group from Roman Athens (figs 13.5–7),[3] possibly (though it is doubtful) on a Roman sarcophagus (fig. 13.8),[4] and, finally, in a Late Roman mosaic (fig. 13.9).[5] Because the ancient world venerated Homer,[6] it is easy to understand why it continually sought to render him in art. But the ancient world depicted Homer visually in many different ways, most often preferring the mode of portraiture. In order to gain a better understanding of the nature of our seldom-used mode,

---

pl. 45a,b; Smith 1991, 186–7 fig. 216; Cohon 1991/92, 70–78; Pollitt 1993, 93–4; Spyropoulos 1993, 265; Moreno 1994, 409–11; Cameron 1995, 273–4; Zanker 1995, 159–61; Lancha 1997, 347; Schefold 1997, 336–8, 530; Moreno 1999, 47–53; Schneider 1999, 183–7; Stewart 2000; Ridgway 2000, 207–08; de Grummond and Ridgway 2000, 15 n.10; Andreae 2001, 33, 47, 176–8 fig. 168; Ridgway 2002, 117–18, 134. n.9; *EAA*, *s.v.* 'Iliade' + fig. 136 (B. Conticello) and 'Odissea' (B. Conticello); *LIMC*, *s.v.* 'Apollon' no. 972 (O. Palagia), 'Arete' no. 1 (J.C. Balty), 'Chronos' no. 1 (M. Bendala Galan), 'Historia' no. 1 (E. Lygouri-Tolia), 'Ilias' no. 1 (E. Lygouri-Tolia), 'Komodia' no. 7 (A. Kossatz-Deissmann), 'Mneme' no. 1, 'Mousa, Mousai' no. 266 (J. Lancha and L. Faedo), 'Mythos' no. 1 (E. Lygouri-Tolia), 'Odysseia' no. 1 (E. Lygouri-Tolia), 'Oikoumene' no. 1, 'Physis' no. 1 (R. Hosek), 'Pistis' no. 2 (M. Caccamo Caltabiano), 'Poiesis' no. 1 (E. Lygouri-Tolia), 'Sophia' no. 1, 'Tragodia' no. 5 (A. Kossatz-Deissmann), 'Zeus' no. 256 (I. Leventi and V. Machaira); *Der Neue Pauly* 9 (2000) *s.v.* 'Personifikationen', 646 (H.A. Shapiro).

[2] Naples NM Inv. 24301. Found in Pompeii, Italy. Select bibliography: Pannuti 1984, with previous bibliography; Zanker 1995, 180; De Caro 1996, 233 + illus.; *EAA*, *s.v.* 'Iliade' + fig. 136 (B. Conticello); *EAA*, *s.v.* 'Odissea' (B. Conticello); *LIMC*, *s.v.* 'Ilias' no. 3 (E. Lygouri-Tolia); *LIMC*, *s.v.* 'Odysseia' no. 3 (E. Lygouri-Tolia).

[3] Athens, Agora Mus. S 2038, S 2039, and I 6628. Found in the Agora of Athens, Greece. Select bibliography: Treu 1889, 160–69; Graindor 1934, 262–6; Thompson 1954, 62–5; Raubitschek 1954, 315–19; Courbin 1954, 106; Richter 1957, 53–4, k + figs. 110–12; Travlos 1971, 233–4 + figs. 308–10; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 114–16; Thompson 1976, 183; Stemmer 1978, 115-16, no. XII + pl. 78; *EAA*, *s.v.* 'Iliade' + fig. 136 (B. Conticello) and 'Odissea' (B. Conticello); *LIMC s.v.* 'Ilias' no. 4 (E. Lygouri-Tolia) and 'Odysseia' no. 4 (E. Lygouri-Tolia).

[4] Paris, Louvre Ma 1497 and 1500. Provenance unknown. On the right lateral face of this sarcophagus, an older bearded man with scroll in hand is flanked by two women who prop their feet on the prows of ships. Since none of the three figures has any obviously Homeric attribute, the association of this sarcophagus with Homer, the *Iliad*, and the *Odyssey* is far from certain. Select bibliography: Baratte and Metzger 1985, 282–4, no. 186 + illus., with previous bibliography; *LIMC s.v.* 'Ilias' no. 2 (E. Lygouri-Tolia) and 'Odysseia' no. 2 (E. Lygouri-Tolia).

[5] Antalya Museum. Select bibliography: Mellink 1979, 337; Inan 1980, 13–14 + fig. 5; Stupperich 1982, 231–2; Smith 1990, 151; *Antalya Museum Guide* 1990, 93–6, figs. 89–90; Smith 1991b, 164–5; Schefold 1997, 392; Bingöl 1997, 123–5 fig. 88, pl. 26.1; Lancha 1997, 351 n.91, 354.

[6] On the ancient construct of Homer, see: Allen 1912; Allen 1913; Allen 1924, 11–41; Skiadas 1965; Williams 1978, 98–9; Lefkowitz 1981, 12–24; Cameron 1995, 273–7; Howie 1995, 141–73; West 1999, 354–82; Graziosi 2002. On the image of Homer in material culture: Bernoulli 1901, 1–24; Boehringer and Boehringer 1939; Richter 1957, 45–56; Sadurska 1962; Ibrahim, Scranton, and Brill 1976, 168–74, no. 29; Zanker 1995, 166–71; Lancha 1997, 347; Schefold 1997, 92, 156, 172, 272, 274, 276, 312, 336, 348, 356, 392, 400, 402, 404. On the cults and shrines of Homer: Pinkwart 1965a, 169–73; Brink 1972; RE 8.2 2194–9 (Raddatz).

personification, it may be helpful to begin by comparing and contrasting the uses, the roles and the functions of the portrait, the metaphor and the personification.

Let us first take a look at what a portrait can do: it can construct an image of the author's outward physical appearance. In portraits of the so-called 'Blind Homer' type like that at the British Museum (fig. 13.1), we see Homer's wrinkles and sagging flesh, his open mouth and perhaps even his blind eyes.[7] These physical details may offer some comment on Homer's psychology or intellect. But there are many other invisible aspects of the author, or rather of authorship, that such a portrait alone cannot address. A metaphorical image is much better suited to making the invisible visible. Consider a metaphorical painting of Homer by Galaton, attested by Aelian.[8] Aelian tells us that, in this now-lost painting, Homer is vomiting and other poets are gulping it down.[9] This humorously bizarre and famously disgusting artistic display is not without parallels, and perhaps stimuli, in literature: Homer often is figured as a font of inspiration by such authors as Dionysos of Halikarnassos,[10] Ovid,[11] Manilius,[12] 'Longinus',[13] anonymous sources from the *Greek Anthology*[14] and an Alexandrian papyrus.[15] As Quintilian says:

> He is like his own conception of Ocean, which he describes as the source of every stream and river, for he has given us a model and an inspiration for every area of eloquence.[16]

---

[7] E.g. London, BM Inv. 1825. On the 'Blind Homer' type, see Boehringer-Boehringer 1939; Schefold 1997, 142, 213; Richter 1957, 50–53, nos. 1–22 + figs. 58–106; Richter 1984, 147 ff; Laubscher 1982, 20; Fittschen 1988, 26; Stewart 1990, 223 + fig. 801; Smith 1991a, 37 + fig. 35; Zanker 1995, 166–71 + figs. 89–90.

[8] Ael., *VH* 13.22.

[9] Homer also appears with poets, writers, and philosophers in other ancient art: e.g. a late third/early second century BC sculptural group from the Serapeion at Memphis (Zanker 1995, 172 fig. 91, with previous bibliography); a Roman wall-painting cycle from Pompeii (Schefold 1997, 304–06 figs. 183–8, with previous bibiography); a Roman mosaic from Jerash (Lancha 1997, 399–400; Schefold 1997, 384 figs 251–2, with previous bibliography); the Roman 'Monnus Mosaic' from Trier (Hoffmann, Hupe and Goethert 1999, 138–41, no. 103 pls. 64–9, with previous bibliography); a sculptural assemblage in the Baths of Zeuxippos at Constantinople (Bassett 1996, 504–05, with previous bibliography); the late antique glass mosaic panels from Kenchreai (Ibrahim, Scranton and Brill 1976, esp. 168–78, nos. 29–31 figs. 32–3, 136–52, drawings 24–5; Dunbabin 1999, 257, 266–8, 289 figs. 282–3; Rothaus 2000, 70–83 fig. 16).

[10] Dion. Hal., *Comp.* 24.

[11] Ov., *Am.* 3.9.25–6.

[12] Manilius, 2.8–11.

[13] [Long.], *Subl.* 13.2–3.

[14] *Anth. Pal.*, 9.184.

[15] Powell 1925, no. 10 = Page 1942, no. 93a.

[16] Quint., *Inst.* 10.1.46–9. Original Homeric passage: *Il.* 21.196. On this metaphor, see Brink 1972, 553–5; Williams 1978, 87–9, 98–9; Giangrande 1982; Cameron 1995, 403–07.

Unlike the portrait, then, a metaphorical image can indeed address the invisible relationship between author and audience – in this case the reception of Homer by later authors. But this sort of metaphorical work has its limits, too: it cannot really construct a specific image of the *text*, of the relationship between *text* and author, or of the relationship between *text* and audience. If the portrait and the metaphor, then, are ill-equipped to explore these relationships, perhaps the personification has better luck addressing such text-based aspects of authorship and reception.

So let us see how the text itself is personified in an epigram from the *Greek Anthology*. It says:

> *Iliad*, great work, and *Odyssey*, chaste poem that made Ithaka the equal even of Troy, make me, the old man, grow young forever: for the Siren song of Homer flows from your mouths.[17]

This epigram gives us an important insight into how the ancient world dealt with and understood the presence of literary personifications. It not only addresses the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* directly, but it personifies them, giving them the power of speech. This power of speech is exactly how the ancient rhetoricians characterized the concept of personification. Demetrius and Quintilian, for example, group what we would call personifications of cities and peoples under the general heading of *prosopopoeia*,[18] a rhetorical device dependent upon speeches spoken in character.[19]

Other epigrams preserved in the *Greek Anthology*, though, yield information about the relationship between text and author. One epigram reads:

> Homer, son of Meles, you established eternal glory for the whole of Hellas and your fatherland Kolophon, and through your godlike soul you begot these daughters, writing from the heart your two books. The one sings the much-wandering return of Odysseus, and the other, the Trojan War of the sons of Dardanos.[20]

A second epigram by Antiphilos takes the form of a question and answer session:

> Q: Whose books are you? What have you inside?
> A: Daughters of Maionides, learned in tales of Troy: One of us recounts Achilles's wrath and the deeds of Hektor's hand and the trials of the ten years' war; the other, the labours of Odysseus and good Penelope's tears over her widowed bed.

---

[17] *Anth. Pal.*, 9.522.

[18] Demetr., *Eloc.* 265; Quint., *Inst.* 9.2.31.

[19] See e.g. Demetr., *Eloc.* 265; Quint., *Inst.* 6.1.25, 9.2.29–37. On *prosopopoeia*, see Siorvanes *infra* pp.84–8, and Stafford 2000, 3–11.

[20] *Anth. Pal.*, 16.292.

Q: Be gracious, in the Muse's company, for after your songs, generations claimed to have eleven sisters of Pieria.[21]

These epigrams, like our first example, give the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* the power of speech: the poems both speak their minds and are interrogated. But these last two epigrams also add another dimension to our understanding, for they establish the status of the author in relation to his text. They construct a parental relationship by explicitly labelling the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* Homer's daughters.

That the *text* provides the link between Homer and his audience is also made clear in visual culture. In a Late Roman mosaic found in Room 10 of the Agora in Seleukeia (fig. 13.9),[22] for example, portraits of philosophers, poets and orators surround a central panel that originally contained Homer, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Most of this central scene is lost, but the labels for Homer, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* – as well as the head and spear of the *Iliad* – are preserved.

The familial relationship between Homer and his poems in art, furthermore, is confirmed by a sculptural group from the Athenian Agora. Two statues traditionally attributed to this group were found in 1869 at the southwest corner of the Stoa of Attalos,[23] and it is likely that the group originally stood in the Library of Pantainos.[24] One statue (fig. 13.6) was signed by Jason the Athenian and is dated stylistically to the reign of Hadrian.[25] Its cuirass shows a Skylla; Aiolos, three sirens and Polyphemos are depicted on its lappets. This figural decoration should represent the *Odyssey*. The other statue (fig. 13.5) has been identified as the *Iliad*, but perhaps we should reconsider this identification, since the two statues are so dissimilar. The so-called *Iliad* lacks breasts, has a quite muscular arm, and has a general shape that appears to be male, not female. Its scale, moreover, is larger. And, most importantly, its cuirass does not display symbols of an Homeric epic. It is very doubtful, then, that this second statue is indeed the *Odyssey*'s companion, the *Iliad*.

But the original presence of an *Iliad* – as well as the reconstruction of the entire group — is certified by the inscription on a plinth found in 1953 (fig. 13.7). This inscription reads:

---

[21] *Anth. Pal.*, 9.192

[22] See above n.5.

[23] See above n.3, esp. Treu 1889.

[24] On the group's probable location in the Library of Pantainos, see: Thompson 1954, 64 and Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 114–16. Miller 1972, 95 proposes that the figures might have stood atop the 'Roman Monument' in the Athenian Agora. Travlos 1971, 233–4, however, suggests that the group was instead related to the Gymnasium of Ptolemy.

[25] E.g. Stemmer (*supra* n.3).

'Ιλιὰς ἡ μεθ' "Ομηρομ ἐγὼ καὶ πρόσθεν 'Ομήρ[ου
πάρστατις ἵδρυμαι τῶι μὲ τεκόντι νεῶ[ι

> The *Iliad*, I that was after Homer and before Homer have been set up beside the one who bore me in his youth.[26]

This plinth obviously refers to a now-lost statue of the *Iliad* that was erected near a now-lost statue of Homer. If we associate the statue of the *Odyssey* with this plinth, the Agora group appears to have originally displayed Homer with personifications of his two epic poems. The inscription on the plinth explicitly says that Homer bore the *Iliad*, and also explicit is the female gender of ἡ 'Ιλιάς. The gender of the *Odyssey* statue also is unquestionably female. There thus seems to be little doubt that the Homer of this Agora group was meant to be viewed as a father, and the personifications were to be considered his daughters.

While these literary, artistic, and epigraphic examples are the most explicit essays on the familial relationships of our personifications, they are not the first instances in which a parental relationship was established between the ancient author and his creation – or even, specifically, between Homer and his poems. This relationship reaches far back in Greek literature to at least Plato.

Plato writes about this parental relationship in the *Phaedrus*, the *Republic*, and the *Thaeatetus*. But he is most specific about the mechanics of the relationship in the *Symposium*. Here Plato discusses the parentage of ideas and even of Homeric poetry when he tackles the pregnancy of the author's soul – the very trope that one of our epigrams uses. Diotima relates that there are persons

> who in their souls conceive still more than in their bodies that which befits the soul to conceive and to bear. And what is fitting? Both prudence and the rest of excellence. The begetters of these are all the poets and those craftsmen who are said to be inventors.[27]

She goes on to state:

> Everyone would choose to beget children such as these rather than human ones from gazing upon Homer and Hesiod and the other good poets, emulating the sort of offspring they leave behind that provides them with immortal glory and remembrance.[28]

So far, we have seen that the mode of personification may establish a relationship between author and text that constructs the author as father and the text as child. The author seemingly is always gendered male, and thus

[26] Thompson 1954, 63.
[27] Pl., *Symp.* 209a.
[28] Pl., *Symp.* 209c–d.

out of biological, metaphorical and perhaps Platonic necessity gives birth through his soul. But the gender of the child – the personified text – is not so constant. We must ask ourselves, then, why it is that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are women. I should like to suggest that their adoption of a female gender comments directly on the relationship between text and audience.

The content of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, one would think, lends itself more readily to masculine imagery. We see this trend in the artworks themselves, since most personifications of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* wear typically male dress or carry weaponry and tools usually associated with men. The *Iliad*'s spear, for example, is preserved in the fragmentary Late Roman mosaic from Seleukeia (fig. 13.9).[29] And in the Archelaos Relief (fig. 13.3),[30] both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* appear slightly militaristic. The relief was signed by Archelaos of Priene and was found in Italy, but its iconography and style suggest an original Ptolemaic context of the late third century BC. In the bottom tier, at the left, Homer is crowned by Oikoumene and Chronos, who seem to be crypto-portraits of Arsinoe III and Ptolemy IV.[31] The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* kneel by his side. Here the *Iliad*, to Homer's right, carries a sword, and the *Odyssey*, to Homer's left, holds up what appears to be an *aphlaston* (or ornamental carving) from the stern of a ship.

The personifications of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* on a silver kalathos (fig. 13.4),[32] though, wear more items of military garb. This kalathos was found in Pompeii. It is dated to the first century AD and now resides in the Museo Nazionale in Naples. Encircling this cup is a scene that depicts a central apotheosis of Homer flanked by two mourning women. On the left, we see a close-up of one figure with helmet, shield, spear, and sword. This land-based battle gear suggests that she is the *Iliad*. The other figure on the right, though, wears a sword and a *pileus* (or sailor's cap), and she holds a rudder. These objects seem more appropriate to the *Odyssey*.

More explicitly militaristic is perhaps the statue from the Agora. The Agora *Odyssey* (fig. 13.6), as we have seen, is indeed dressed to kill in her cuirass. But the presence of this male iconography – this cross-dressing, so to speak – creates a tension. Despite all their male accoutrements, the fact does indeed remain that these personifications have assuredly female bodies. And, moreover, they are explicitly called Homer's daughters in our epigrams.

---

[29] See above n.5.

[30] See above n.1.

[31] It should be noted that the date of the relief and the identity of the crypto-portraits are far from uncontested. Proposed dates have included the late third/early second century BC (e.g. Richter 1957, 54; Pollitt 1986; Stewart 1990, 217–18; Smith 1991a, 186–7; Schneider 1999, 183–7), c. 159 BC (e.g. Moreno 1994, 409–11), c. 150 BC (e.g. Andreae 2001, 176), c. 130–20 BC (e.g. Pinkwart 1965a and 1965b), and the first century BC (e.g. Ridgway 2000, 207–08). See Fleischer 1991, 79 for a summary of proposed identities and dates.

[32] See above n.2.

They are, then, most definitely women. But how can we explain this apparently illogical, even weird, choice of gender?

First of all, we know that the grammatical genders of the words *Ilias* and *Odysseia* are feminine.[33] But more than just grammar may be involved in the choice of gender. Scholars studying medieval art, for example, have argued that personifications are abstract concepts encompassing a range of gendered aspects; one grammatically male medieval personification, *Bel Accueil* or Fair Welcome, is in fact represented as both male and female at different points in the same illuminated manuscript of the *Roman de la Rose*.[34] The recognition of this explicit medieval choice helps us to see the gender of classical personifications in a new light. We can begin to think about our personified *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as ideas or concepts that may in fact have both male and female characteristics.

That the militaristic and naval content of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is masculine is, of course, clear enough. But what is it about the nature of the poems that is particularly feminine?

The relationship between text and audience often is articulated in gendered and even sexualized terms in Greek and Latin literature. The reader and the lover are said to behave in an analogous fashion, objectifying text on the one hand and beloved on the other.[35] The direct connection between publication and prostitution is a *topos* established by Plato in the *Phaedrus*, where Socrates makes the distinction between the two different kinds of writing: the base and the noble. Of the base, he says:

> And once written, every word is circulated everywhere, alike among those who understand just as among those whom it by no means befits, and it does not know to whom it ought to speak or not to speak. When neglected and unjustly abused, it always needs its father as ally: for it has power neither to protect nor to help itself.[36]

But, the noble, he says, is

[33] For recent discussions of the gender of classical personifications, see Stafford 1998 (= Stafford 2000, 27–35). On the allegorical use of the female form more generally, see Warner 1985.

[34] E.g. Bodl. MS Douce 364, fol.24^{r} and fol. 28^{r}. Fleming 1969, 43–6 + figs 13 and 14.

[35] See Sommerstein and Murray *infra*. On such objectification of text generally, see e.g. Barthes 1975. On the eroticisation of personified text in Greek and Latin literature see: Belmont 1980, 1–20; Connor 1982, 145–52; Fränkel 1957, 356–63; Harrison 1988, 473–6; Oliensis 1997, 151–71; Oliensis 1998, 174–81; Pearcy 1994, 457–64; West 1967, 17–19; Wyke 1987, 47–61.

[36] Pl., *Phdr.* 275e.

> That which is written with intelligence in the mind of the learner, able to defend itself, and knowing before whom it ought both to speak and to be silent.[37]

Base writing may be used for ephemeral amusement, says Socrates, but noble writing contributes to and withstands serious discourse.

The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, like other writings, are indeed objectified through the act of reading, and the reader, according to literary convention is gendered male. But the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, unlike the other personified texts that appear in such authors as Callimachus and Horace,[38] are not promiscuous, indeed they are – to use the construct of our epigrams – 'chaste' daughters. So the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* may be read, but they are of the noble sort of literature: they withstand the test of time and they do not allow themselves to be used or ravaged. It is visually jarring to see these women dressed in armour when they are represented in art, but this discomfort actually serves to focus the reader-viewer's attention. While the militaristic allusions of their dress suggest the women's identification as the Homeric poems, they also serve a visual purpose, for these figures do indeed look like empowered women who can well take care of themselves. Their defences are indeed hard to breach.

The description of Homer as 'the source from which all the rivers flow and all the seas, and every fountain,'[39] sums up the ancient attitude to Homer the author. And it also points to the fact that his poems were the most read in antiquity. The visual iconography of the personified *Iliad* and *Odyssey* speaks directly to this reality: they display a seductive invitation, but protection and a strong defence always frustrate the reader's attempts to grow too familiar. The poems never allow themselves to be violated.

It now may be a little clearer why our artworks chose the mode of personification instead of the more popular portrait to convey their ideas about Homeric authorship and reception. It is obvious that the mode of personification was indeed rare in this instance and that the artist had to start from scratch each time this mode was chosen. The artist even seems a bit unsure of whether his particular choices will be read correctly, and so, for example, the personifications often are labelled. The conscious and deliberate choice of personification is acknowledgement that the portrait alone simply cannot address the agency through which Homer gained his great renown, was immortalized, and continued to be the source whence all things come.

---

[37] Pl., *Phdr.* 276a.

[38] Callim., *Epigr.* 30; Hor., *Ep.* 1.20.

[39] E.g. Dion. Hal., *Comp.* 24 (after Hom., *Il.* 21.196).

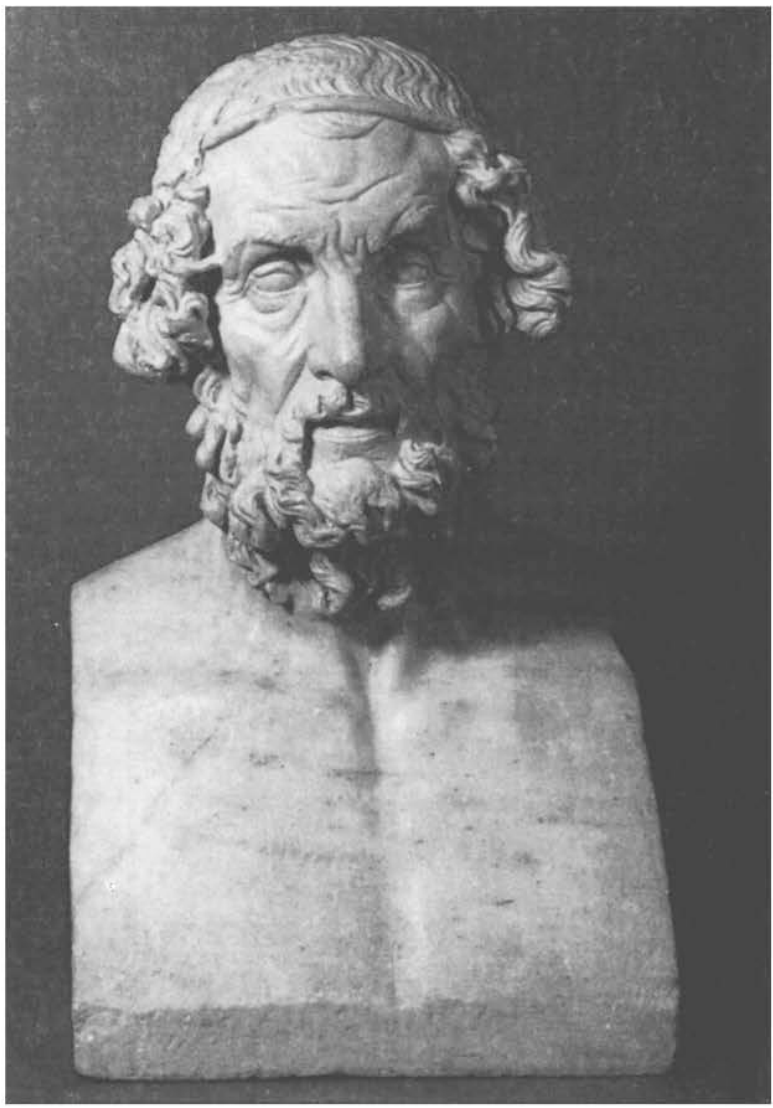


Fig. 13.1 The blind Homer. Hellenistic herm portrait.

Fig. 13.2 The Archelaos relief, late third century BC.

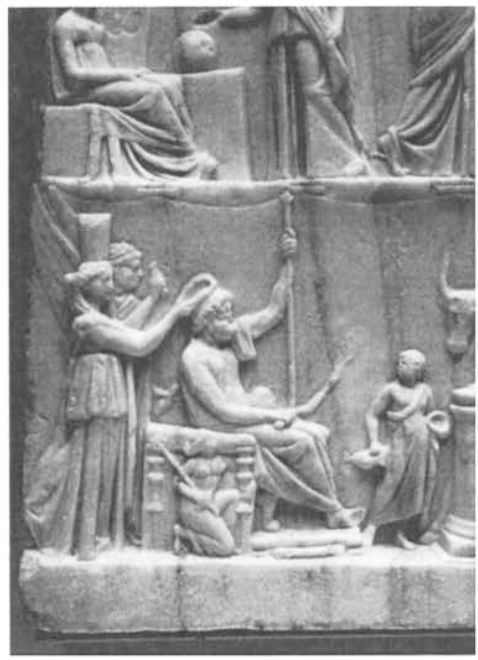


Fig. 13.3 Detail of fig. 13.2.

Fig 13.4 The apotheosis of Homer, with the *Iliad* (left) and *Odyssey* (right). Silver cup, first century AD.

Fig 13.5 Agora *Iliad*, early second century AD.

Fig 13.6 Agora *Odyssey*, early second century AD.

Fig 13.7 Agora Plinth.

Fig 13.8 Man flanked by two women. Roman Sarcophagus.

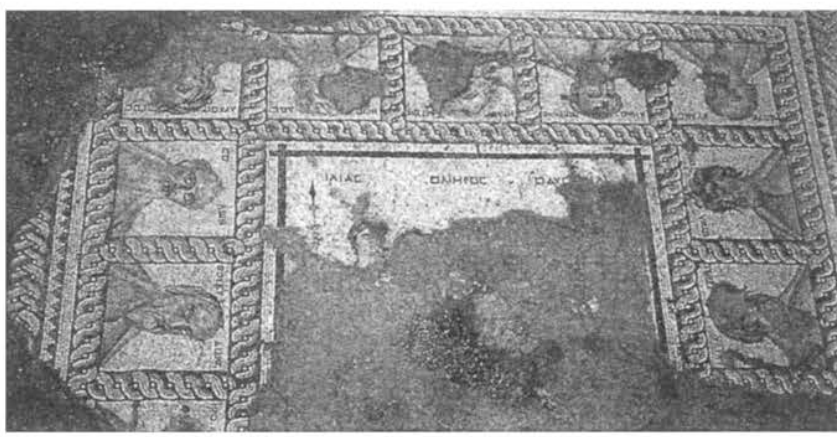


Fig. 13.9 Homer flanked by the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.
Late Roman mosaic from Seleukia.

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

PART IV

LOOKING AT PERSONIFICATIONS

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

14

Eunomia or 'make love not war'? Meidian personifications reconsidered*

Barbara E. Borg

Comments on vase paintings by the Meidias painter and his wider circle tend to read like this:

> Vase painting, as far as it was supposed to serve the living, usually did not have those serious concerns but directed its sense of the subjective, the personal, towards the sensual, the pleasant, and the decorative ... It is in accordance with this luxurious, feminine splendour that the subjects are regularly taken from an aphrodisian context ... It has to be asked which mental need these mythological idylls may satisfy. Are they the expression of a desperate search for a better dream world during the hard years of war, or do they display the hedonism and negligent carelessness of the Athenians who set off even to conquer Sicily?[1]

This judgement seems to be perfectly supported by a particular group of vases showing various female personifications,[2] often accompanying Aphrodite, who are typically united under the collective header of 'circle of Aphrodite', among these Paidia (Play), Himeros (Desire), Eudaimonia

* This contribution is a slightly extended version of my talk given at the Personifications Conference in September 2000. I am especially grateful to Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin for their invitation to this very stimulating event. Earlier versions of this paper were also presented on different occasions. I would like to extend my thanks to all those who contributed to the respective discussions and thus helped me focussing my ideas.

[1] Strocka 1975, 56.

[2] The term personification is, of course, hotly debated. In this paper, I will call any figure a personification whose name is also used as *nomen appellativum*, independently of whether it is considered a divine being or the poetic or rhetorical creation of an artist. It will become clear in the course of my argument that this definition of the term may not be perfect (since its derivation from *personificatio* implies a chronological or at least factual, technical primacy of the *appellativum*), but that there is no other shorthand for personifications in the above sense whose status or 'ontology' is the very subject of discussion and thus must not be involved in the definition.

From *Personification In The Greek World: From Antiquity To Byzantium*, eds Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Copyright © 2005 by Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Published by Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, UK.

(Happiness), Harmonia (Harmony), Eutychia (Good Fortune), Aponia (Freedom-from-toil), Hedylogos (Sweet Talk), Makaria (Blessedness), and Pothos (Yearning) (figs 14.1–7).[3] Still, it is not only because of these characters that scholars have interpreted the pictures as documents of playful, even frivolous superficiality but also because of the very fact that the figures are personifications (here: deliberate creations of the artist). Dieter Metzler, in his pertinent paper on these pictures, is particularly explicit, stating that the acceptance of the personifications as

> ... simple creations of the artist's fantasy ... liberates us from the duty of more intensive thinking [about them], but must, on the other hand, accept the blame for flat positivism.

In these pictures, he concludes, the

> ... desire [that is the concepts embodied by the personifications] fades away into mere abstraction, the hollow dignity of which boasts about Euripidean lyricism and Gorgian detail, only to get lost in the precious superficialisation of its form.[4]

Salvation from this sort of accusation, on the other hand, may be sought in the claim that the personifications actually were not 'simple creations of the artist's fantasy' but divine beings. With this strategy, the focus of attention also shifts from the 'hedonistic' personifications to the more 'serious' figures of Eunomia (Good Order) and Eukleia (Good Repute), more or less neglected by the supporters of the first view, which appear quite often within the circle of Aphrodite. Most influentially, R. Hampe deduced from the vase paintings a common cult for Eunomia and Eukleia, firmly attested only for the imperial period, which in turn became the basis of the interpretation of the vase paintings.[5] For Hampe and his successors, the existence of a cult for Eunomia and Eukleia guaranteed both the sincerity of religious feelings towards them and their importance for the pictures, which by now ceased to be only superficial idylls. Metzler went even further, regarding Eunomia as the goddess of a political, anti-democratic ideal in a conservative constitution derived from Sparta. The rest of the personnel were forced into the frame of this concept, so that the images finally turned out to represent quite austere political 'ideologies'.[6]

---

[3] A catalogue of fifteen vases belonging to that group is given as an appendix at the end of the paper. These pieces count among the most central examples for the phenomena studied here but are by no means the only ones. Numbers in the text refer to this catalogue.

[4] Metzler 1980, 75 and 81.

[5] Hampe 1955; Metzler 1980, 75: 'Hampe konnte vielmehr nachweisen [sic!], dass es sich bei beiden Gestalten keineswegs um sogenannte blasse Personifikationen späterer Zeit, sondern um alte attische Gottheiten handelt.'

[6] Metzler 1980; for a more detailed comment on his argument see Borg 2002.

In this paper, I shall argue (1) that a 'close reading' of single pictures will prove that their meanings are much more sophisticated then the first group of scholars will allow, and much less austere then the second permits; (2) that the meaning of the pictures is independent of whether we consider the personifications divine beings or conscious creations by the artist, and (3) that the 'ontology' of the figures was indeed quite unimportant in antiquity. Scholars have correctly pointed out that the actions of the figures are unspecific in so far as they do not characterize any single personification exclusively but are exchangeable both between various personifications and between these and anonymous figures. Thus, neither iconographies nor actions permit the identification of a figure without an inscription as a particular personification.[7]

On the other hand, the personifications are neither chosen randomly nor are they exchangeable at will, and, in fact, their actions are not entirely accidental either. They often establish a meaningful relationship between particular personifications. If, for example, on a fragment from Ullastret (no. 12, fig. 14.1), Dike (Justice) or Nike (Victory) – the reading is not entirely clear – steps up to Eukleia sitting on a rock to present her a necklace, or if, on a lid in Mainz (no. 7, fig. 14.2), Eukleia offers the seated Eunomia a box, then these gestures of giving and serving can well be transferred metaphorically to the personified concepts themselves: Justice – as well as victory – certainly contributes to good repute and a good reputation is a substantial contribution to good order. When, on a famous hydria in Florence,[8] Aphrodite races in a chariot drawn by Himeros and Pothos over an arbour where Phaon and Demonassa are seated, the symbolism is clear: sensual love is set in motion and driven by passion and desire (fig. 14.3). The same imagery, if somewhat restrained, was chosen for a pyxis in London (no. 6, fig. 14.4) where Aphrodite's chariot is drawn by Pothos and Hedylogos: here love's driving forces are yearning desire and sweet talking.

An overview of the personnel on the various vases will soon make it clear that the number and specific character of the 'hedonistic' personifications varies. The lids in Mainz (no. 7, fig. 14.2), Naples (no. 9) and Ullastret (no. 12, fig. 14.1) – as far as we can tell from the fragment – certainly show less playful concepts than some of the other vases collected in the catalogue. However, in many examples, the focus on the Aphrodisian and the erotic will be pretty obvious, so that it is not so much Aphrodite, Eros, or Himeros who appear to be in need of explanation, but Eunomia and Eukleia instead.

[7] For a contrary view see Neils 1983. An exception to the rule is a Paidia on a Pyxis in New York (no. 10) balancing a stick on her index finger.

[8] Florenz, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 81947: *ARV*[2] 1312, 2 (Meidias Painter); *Para* 477; *Addenda* 361; Shapiro 1993, 67–8, 116–17, 129, 234, no. 17 figs. 21, 69, 80; Burn 1987, 40–44, M2 pls 27–9.

In many cases, Aphrodite is the central focus of the pictures, often given prominence by her seated position (fig. 14.5). Considering the goddess's primarily erotic and sexual domain, well established in literature, art and cult, it is hardly questionable that this same background also determines both the context of the painting's messages and the primary level of their reading.

In this context, the gardens shown by many of the pictures assemble all the erotic connotations associated with meadows and gardens in Greek literature since the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Of the personifications, Himeros and Pothos are least ambiguous even if – or indeed precisely if – we suspect the semantic impact of the omnipresent Eros to have deadened over time. On a London lekythos (no. 4, fig. 14.5), Peitho presenting a *kanoun* to Aphrodite does not necessarily hint at her subordinate role in cult but can also be understood in a metaphorical sense: *peitho*, a concept including all non-violent, verbal as well as non-verbal forms of persuasion and seduction, serves Aphrodite and *ta aphrodisia* as their essential and very own power of old.[9]

Similarly, Paidia may sometimes imply more than the careless joys of a child's game and acquire those ambiguities known from other erotic contexts where *paidia* and *paizein* designate various forms of erotic and/or sexual encounters.[10] This ambiguity is the key to the understanding of the names on a cup in Würzburg showing a satyr named Chorillos making love to a nymph named Paidia (fig. 14.6).[11] The scene is free from the rudeness and awkwardness of surprise attacks known from so many other encounters of satyrs and nymphs but is displayed as a very enjoyable action: they look deep into each other's eyes – by which *eros* is known to enter the mind of man – and her right arm reaches for his shoulder to stabilize the somewhat precarious balance of their encounter. In accordance with this atmosphere, her name referring to the act of love is equally appropriate as the one of the satyr, dancer. The verb *choreuo* designates dancing in a chorus as well as dancing for joy in a more general sense. In analogy to Aristophanes, *Lys.* 409, where the equivalent verb *orcheomai* is used as a euphemism for a sexual encounter,[12] we may consider whether the name of the satyr was not meant as a *double entendre* too.

The representation on a lekythos in Munich (no. 8, fig. 14.7), showing Himeros sitting on a swing pushed forward by Paidia, can be read as a more subtle variant of the same subject, approximately stating: 'Playful love sets

[9] Buxton 1982 *passim*; Stafford 2000, 111–45.

[10] Henderson 1991, 157 no. 240 s.v. *paizein* with n.28; p. 249–50 no. 240.

[11] Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner Museum L 492 = H 4633: *ARV*[2] 1512,18 (Jena Painter); *LIMC* III, 274 s. v. Chorillos (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); Paul-Zinserling 1994, 54–6 no. 5 pl. 22, 2. See also Smith (*infra* fig. 15.6).

[12] Henderson 1991, 41, 49, 125, no. 75.

passion and erotic desire in motion.' As a form of playing, even the motive of swinging itself can be understood metaphorically, with the rhythmic motion of rocking lending some additional graphic quality to the image.[13]

Against this background, the embracing of Paidia by Eunomia on the London lekythos (no. 4, fig. 14.5) appears to be not just a tender gesture but an image of the restriction of the potentially frolicsome game of love by good order. At the same time, it gives an important hint for a more general understanding of Eunomia and Eukleia in an aphrodisian and erotic context. In the later fifth century, sexual encounters were a rather problematic field of social contacts surrounded by specific values and behavioural ideals. However, more recent studies have made it clear that sexuality was neither problematic as something 'dirty' or 'defiling', nor did it belong exclusively to the extramarital sphere of *hetairai*.[14] While notorious *topoi* about the insatiability of female sexual desire may evoke strong suspicions of either male dreams or nightmares, the success of the Aristophanic comedy *Lysistrata* is hardly imaginable without the assumption that in real life too the common marital relationship was to include a pleasurable sex life. Denial of *ta aphrodisia* was rated as unnatural and even an act of *hybris*, and the art of seduction and the pleasures of sexual love do not, as a matter of principle, belong in the extramarital sphere, but, on the contrary, even according to – or rather precisely according to – male ideology, they are a natural, healthy and positive aspect of marriage for both partners, contributing to mutual *philia*.[15]

The power of desire, however, was a matter of deep concern. The dangers of irresistible erotic attraction and uncontrollable passion are evoked by written texts of all genres. Thus, not to lose self-control was crucial for personal mental health as well as for one's own reputation. In the case of women, it also guaranteed conjugal faithfulness, which in turn was essential for both the reputation of the husband and the legitimacy of the couple's offspring.[16]

---

[13] Henderson 1991, 49, 151 no. 205–06.

[14] From the vast literature on this subject see in particular Henderson 1991, 1–19. On the following see also Cohen 1991; Calame 1992, 130–36; Hanson 1990.

[15] This is not to fall back into the other extreme and to idealize the situation of Athenian women. Criticism of the potential misery deriving from the status of women intruded even into tragedy (cf. e.g. Aischyl. *Suppl.*; Eur. *Med.* 230–51; Soph. *Tereus* fr. 524 Nauck), a genre primarily meeting the expectations of a male audience. For our questions, it suffices to understand the general, 'official' attitude towards female sexuality, since messages on vases which may have been produced and/or donated on the occasion of marriage most probably range within this spectrum.

[16] This is, of course, an extremely short and dull summary of an otherwise complicated and much discussed subject. For more detailed accounts see e.g. Foucault 1984; important qualifications to Foucault's views: Nussbaum 1986; Detel 1998; cf. also Dover 1978, 100–09; Winkler 1990; Cohen 1991, 171–202 and *passim*; each with bibliography.

We may therefore understand the prevalence of both Eunomia and Eukleia as deriving from this concern about the potentially dangerous qualities of *eros* and *ta aphrodisia*. Eunomia can be conceived as propagating moderation in the enjoyment of sensual pleasures and thus is more or less equivalent to the concept of sophrosyne so central in fourth-century philosophical thought. Eukleia is both a demand for and a result of moderation in erotic passion and also contributes to the honourableness of the erotic relationship itself. She thus makes sense even without the supposition of a common cult with Eunomia.

We may conclude that the images assembling personifications like Eudaimonia and Makaria, Eutychia, Aponia, Peitho, and even Eros, Himeros, Pothos and Hedylogos do indeed present a sort of complement to the Dionysian worlds of Aristophanes, established, for example, by the protagonists of *Acharnae* and *Peace*, characterized not least by carefree enjoyment of any sensual pleasures. In general, such a way of life will surely have appealed to the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War. So far, prevailing interpretations of the paintings are not completely misleading, but imprecise and one-sided. Since these desires are potentially dangerous, outside of comedy provision must be taken to reduce this danger. Love, sex and good living may be enjoyed as positive parts of human life, not excessively but with moderation, integrated in a balanced system, and within the boundaries of personal health and good repute.[17]

Accordingly, one reading of the seemingly most inconsistent and problematic of our pictures, namely the one on the London pyxis (no. 6, fig. 14.4), may approximately be: sexual love is a central power (Aphrodite with her chariot as the most dominant element of the painting). Her driving forces are yearning desire (Pothos) and sweet talking (Hedylogos). Desire and passion (Himeros) contribute to happiness and good living (Eudaimonia). But only if the play of love (Paidia) remains within the boundaries of good order (Eunomia), pleasure, love and health (Hygieia) can coexist in harmony (Harmonia).[18]

Apparently, the vase paintings can be read as allegorical comments on the ideas and concepts personified and on the pleasures and limits of the *aphrodisia*. Contrary to common scholarly opinion, the pictures are anything but superficial and hollow even if on the one hand we accept the erotic and hedonistic elements and if on the other hand we disregard questions of cult and 'religious feelings'.

[17] Cf. Eur., *Iph. A.* 543–57; Detel 1991, 9: 'es ist nicht ein Begrenzungs- und Beherrschungsmodell, das die antiken Autoren zur Eindämmung einer bedrohlichen sexuellen Dynamik vorschlagen, sondern das Modell einer souveränen Einbettung in den Gesamthaushalt der höheren und niederen Lüste, dessen Gleichgewicht und Optimierung ein konstitutiver Bestandteil ... des guten Lebens ist.'

[18] On the Meidian Hygieia, cf. Stafford 2000, 159–63.

These observations lead to my last point. Obviously, for the allegorical structure[19] of the representations as well as for the content of their messages it is irrelevant whether we understand the personifications as poetic fictions or divine beings: the moment we begin to reflect upon the representations the level of abstract meaning detaches from the pictorial one. Even Hampe and Metzler can escape this separation only as long as they believe in an exclusively intuitional understanding of the alleged meaning of the paintings. Any ancient viewer who consciously reflected on them would necessarily have become an allegorist – like the modern interpreters themselves.

This statement may, at first sight, seem surprising, particularly because it obscures the borderline between divinity and poetic fiction or rhetorical device, which modern scholarship tries so hard to establish. At the same time, in many cases the problems involved in these struggles are all too obvious and discussions often end in an *aporia* – at least where evolutionary models of the development of the human mind from myth to reason are put aside.[20] I would suggest, however, that in order to overcome this *aporia* the problem should not be treated as either a religious one or, in the case of texts, a linguistic one, as it most often has been, but within the wider context of debate about fictionality. Of course, it is not the right place here to review this very extensive debate in any detail. Instead, I would like just to sum up those positions that I find both most convincing and most relevant for the present topic.

The key argument is that in the archaic and classical periods (as, arguably, in antiquity in general), in contrast to modern times, the opposed categories of '(historical) fact' and 'fiction'[21] in many contexts are not relevant.[22] This is

[19] By this I mean the existence of two (or more) levels of meaning, clearly distinguished and distinguishable from each other but interrelated more or less systematically, which require a discursive, rational mode of interpretation (not necessarily realized by the viewer or reader but becoming evident the moment he or she starts to reflect upon the act of interpretation). In the cases studied here the initial level would be that of human/divine figures handling certain objects, from which detaches a more theoretical level concerning the interrelationship between abstract concepts. I use the terms 'allegorist', 'allegorical interpretation', etc., for any case of interpretation coinciding with such a semantic structure. For a more detailed account of the terminology with further examples cf. Borg 2002.

[20] Time and again these models have been used to secure a divine status for early personifications – cf. Metzler's statement quoted above. On the critique of these models (but without special reference to personifications) see in particular Schmitt 1990; Williams 1993; Gill 1996; Buxton 1999; with respect to personifications and their images, see also Borg 2002 and Stafford 2000 (esp. 75–110, on Nemesis).

[21] As with all the crucial terms used here there is no definition of fiction generally agreed upon. I am following the definition by Petersen 1996, who understands fictional statements (Fiktionalaussagen) as opposed to statements about reality (Realaussagen, Wirklichkeitsaussagen): only the latter can be verified by comparing them to what is the case ('Bei Realaussagen kann ich durch (empirische) Überprüfung feststellen, ob etwas zu Recht

not to say that fictionality was a completely unknown concept. It was recognized by Homer,[23] and by many poets and philosophers after him, but except for particular cases it was no crucial category of thinking.[24] Most often, it was not central to the truth status of a narrative, since this truth status was usually constituted within ethical and moral categories and not within those of factuality and historicity. It is exactly this circumstance that can explain why even Plato could go so far as to promote, under certain conditions, a *pseudos* as a legitimate – since most effective – way of conveying the truth.[25] Correspondingly, even though myths, in the minds of many people, had some sort of historicity in the sense that they were located in the past, within certain limits they could be altered without any problems to fit as *exempla* in particular situations or to suit the various purposes of tragedians and other poets. Most notably, Stesichoros wrote his *Palinode*, according to which not Helen but only an *eidolon* went to Troy, to rehabilitate Helen and to correct the traditional story, which was not true

---

oder nicht als Wirklichsein ausgesagt wurde. Das ist bei Fiktionalaussagen völlig anders. Denn da sie kein Wirklichsein, sondern nur ein weiter nicht spezifiziertes Sein behaupten, habe ich keinen Maßstab, an dem ich es überprüfen, d.h. die Richtigkeit der Fiktionalaussage feststellen kann', 285). However, when Petersen goes on to say that therefore fictional statements are direct to the truth and absolutely true ('Blosses Sein, unspezifisches ist-Sagen lässt sich offensichtlich nicht überprüfen und ist deshalb unmittelbar und absolut wahr', ibid.), this may be convincing to some of us but definitely not to the ancient Greeks as will become clear in the following.

[22] The following argument is based on Gill 1993; cf. also Murray 1999.

[23] See in particular the invented autobiography as a Cretan prince Odysseus presents to Penelope, commented on by Homer: 'While telling many *pseudea* he was making them similar to real events' *Od.* 19, 203; Gill (1993, 70–1) points to the consequences for Homeric poetry itself: 'if Odysseus can create "fictions", so, by implication, can Homer.' As a deliberate falsehood the story is seen here as a sort of subcategory of fiction. Cf. also *Od.* 13.293–5; 14.462 ff.; Pucci 1987, 56–62; 98–109, with further comments.

[24] Of course, the very passages that talk about deliberately invented stories show that this notion *can* be used to reinforce the claim for trustworthiness of a story either by disqualifying certain stories by other poets (Hes. *Theog.* 22–35; cf. Gill 1993, 70 f.) or by deliberately integrating lies and fictions in one's own story (cf. Pucci 1987, 99 who suggests that Odysseus' fictions by implication 'function as the *Odyssey*'s ironic denials of its own "fiction" (mingling truth and falsehood into a simulation of reality – *etuma*) and as evidence in favor of the *Odyssey*'s real truth.'). But these claims – like all the other strategies to convince the listeners or readers that the story told is true – are not based on any argument that we would accept as proof and, indeed, did not eliminate suspicion about the truth status of poetry in antiquity itself; on this last point cf. Pratt 1993, who tends to underestimate that in spite of this pertinent suspicion there is a claim for truth in poetry, if not (necessarily) of a factual kind (cf. the review by K. Morgan, *BMCR* 94.11.4).

[25] The correct translation of *pseudos* is much debated, but in any case it is clear from the respective passages in Plato (and others) that the term designates some story, which is not true on the level of historical fact. Thus the principle argument put forward by Gill 1993 still appears valuable; cf. also Murray 1999, 251–2.

(*ouk etymos*).[26] According to Stephanus of Byzantium, the accusation against the first Euripidean Hippolytos tragedy was not that it was unfaithful to a factual 'reality' but that the characterisation and behaviour of the protagonist, Phaidra, was unacceptable in ethical terms (*aprepes kai katēgorias axion*).[27] For Plato, common myths were not dangerous because they do not represent a factual truth but because they tend to influence people by giving a bad example; they had to be banned from his ideal state even if they were factually true (Plat. *Tim.* 378a2). Thus, the value of those stories we call myths does not depend on whether people 'really believed in them' as historical facts but on whether the *model* or *concept* of reality the story creates is valuable.[28] The truth at stake here concerns a different level of reality from that of factual history.

These observations, I would argue, hold true not only for the stories about the protagonists, their actions, their characterization, etc., but also for their very existence. The meaningfulness and truth of a narrative or pictorial representation does not, or at least not necessarily, depend on the factual existence of the protagonists but on the belief that the characters and concepts embodied by them are existent and that their actions and mutual attitudes are both relevant and morally acceptable. Thus, the decision, so important for modern scholars, whether a certain expression is meant figuratively or 'literally', whether a *nomen* denotes a person or a thing, was obviously unimportant for much of antiquity – at least as long as the reading led to acceptable results. Only in a monotheistic religion can the statement that the name of (a) god was used merely figuratively be scandalous. For an ancient Greek, a narrative about the gods/'gods' only became a scandal if the behaviour of these gods/'gods' did not correspond to generally accepted moral ideas and concepts of reality. This is exactly why allegorical interpretation of myths could not only save the myths – and their poets – but also the gods themselves. It thus seems that for an ancient listener, reader or viewer the status of a personification with respect to her fictionality or divinity was not crucial as long as the overall message was appreciated.[29]

---

[26] Plat. *Phaidr.* 243A; cf. Zagagi 1985, 65–9.

[27] Eur. *Hipp.* Hypothesis; Herter 1975, 133–7, with bibliography.

[28] Möllendorff 2000, 525; 530–31 with bibliography in n.78: 'nicht in der Fiktion als solcher, aber in dem Wirklichkeits*modell*, das sie vermittelt oder dessen Generierung durch den Leser sie steuert, muss die Gefahr der Lüge und des Betrugs gesehen werden' (emphasis added).

[29] This is in stark contrast to the view held by Snell and others who draw a dividing line between 'believers' and 'non-believers'; e.g., 'Für einen griechischen Dichter bezeichnet, solange er gläubig ist, solcher Name [here: Hephaest] etwas Wirkliches; dem nicht mehr Gläubigen wird er ein Stilmittel oder dient dem poetischen Spiel' (Snell 1946, 273; quoted with appreciation by Aellen 1993, 191 n.89). I would argue instead that a 'believer' may well both understand and appreciate an allegorical expression without becoming a 'non-believer'.

Alas, these considerations should not conceal a marked difference between ancient and modern personification allegory. This difference results from a fundamentally divergent way of perceiving both the world and the divine. In a society with gods as personalized forces and powers, on the one hand, by mentioning the gods these forces and powers are already implicit; on the other hand, a force or power that is felt to have some very intense presence can gain divine status at any time. From this it follows, first of all, that the fundamental meaning of personification allegories can be understood, like any narrative about the gods, without a conscious reflection about the abstract level, at least to the extent to which the levels are congruent. Secondly, it is not only impossible to distinguish categorically (certain) personifications from divine beings, and also not only unnecessary, but perhaps not even desirable since it is exactly this interface with the divine inherent in all personifications that is both an expression and a cause of their liveliness and their impression on the viewer (or reader). Conversely, that means: the more lively and immediate the representations, the more appealing and perhaps effective the allegory and its possible teaching may be. The vivacity of personifications and their actions, therefore, is no criterion for distinguishing between god and fictional being or between myth and allegory but, if at all, a criterion of the quality of a piece of art, whether allegorical or not.

Furthermore, the semantic ambiguity of pictorial representations leaves room for the inspiration of any single interpreter and bears a potential for meanings to be expressed only long-windedly – if at all – in abstract language. And finally, the generality of the messages expressed by an allegory permits their actualization in various contexts (cult, marriage, 'daily life' etc.). Thus, the notorious accusations directed at allegory charging it with the respective deficiencies of both art and science can also be reversed by seeing allegory as the combination of the respective virtues of the two, namely the imaginative power of art (potentially transgressing into the metaphysical sphere) and its appeal to emotion, and the lucidity and generality of the message. This indeed seems to have been the attitude of later theoreticians who praise and recommend allegory as an adornment of language, which, at the same time, condenses complex thoughts by its pointedness and gains the attention of the audience by its wit. Finally, taking into account the widely held opinion that pictures were, in the end, both more effective and more memorable than spoken language, the allegorical representations of the later fifth century seem to take advantage of all these convictions, long before the first theoreticians reflected on them and incorporated them into their mnemotechniques.[30]

[30] Blum 1969, 164–71; Giuliani 1998, 127–36.

Appendix

1 Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 48.205 (squat lekythos): *ARV*^{2} 1330, 8 (Makaria Painter); Shapiro 1993, pp. 83, 88, 238 no. 32 fig. 36. 41 – ΕΥΤΥΧΙΑ, ΕΥΝΟΜΙ, ΠΑΙΔΙΑ, (after: J. Oakley, *CVA Baltimore 1, USA 28*, Baltimore, MD, 1992, pp. 35 ff. pl. 38. 1–3).

2 Kansas City, Nelson-Atkins Mus. 31.80 (white-ground squat lekythos): *ARV*^{2} 1248, 8 (Eretria Painter); *Addenda* 353; Shapiro 1993, pp. 80–82, 181, 203, 237 no. 30 figs 33–4. 139. 164 – ΑΝΘΕΙΑ, ΠΕ[Ι]ΘΩ, [sitting woman, name not preserved], ΚΕΦΗΜΟΣ, ΕΥΝΟΜΙΑ or ΑΡΜΟΝΙΑ, ΠΑΙΔΙΑ (after: A. Lezzi-Hafter, *Der Eretria-Maler*, Mainz, 1988, p. 344 no. 240; Shapiro 1993, 81 n.167 reads the third name as ΚΕΑ ... ΜΟΣ, others read Kephimos).

3 London, British Mus. 1867.5–8.1044 (E 222) (hydria from Nola): *ARV*^{2} 1033, 66 (Polygnotos); Shapiro 1993, pp. 113 f., 243 no. 55 fig. 64 – ΙΜΕΡ[ΟΣ, ΠΕΙΘΩ (after: C.H. Smith, *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum* III, London, 1896, pp. 172 f. no. E 222).

4 London, British Mus. 1856.5–12.15 (E 697) (squat Lekythos from Athens): *ARV*^{2} 1324,45 (Manner of the Meidias Painter); *Para* 478; *Addenda* 364; Burn 1987, MM 74 pl. 20 a. b; Shapiro 1993, pp. 66 f., 83, 183, 203, 235 no. 21 figs 20, 35, 142, 163 – ΚΑΛΟΠΑΤΡΑ, ΕΥΝΟΜΙΑ, ΠΑΙΔΙΑ, ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ [with Eros], ΠΕΙΘΩ, ΕΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ (after: Smith, loc. cit., pp. 345 f. no. E 697).

5 London, British Mus. 1849.9–25.12 (E 698) (squat Lekythos from Ruvo): *ARV*^{2} 1316 (Painter of the Carlsruhe Paris); *Addenda* 362; Burn 1987, P1 pl. 20 c. d; Shapiro 1993, pp. 63 f., 129, 234 no. 18 figs. 17, 84 – ΥΓΙΕΙΑ, ΠΑΝΔΑΙΣΙΑ, [Eros], ΕΥΔΑΙΜΟΝ[Ι]Α, ΠΟΛΥΙ ... ΟΣ, ΚΑΛΗ (after: Smith, loc. cit., pp. 346 f. no. E 698); second last name read by Beazley, ARV^2 1316, as ΠΟΛΥΚΛΕΣ?.

6 London, British Mus. 1893.11–3.2 (E 775) (pyxis from Eretria): *ARV*^{2} 1328, 92 (Manner of the Meidias Painter); *Addenda* 364; Burn 1987, MM 136 pl. 18, 19a; Shapiro 1993, pp. 66, 84, 109, 122, 129, 234, no. 19 figs 19, 37, 60, 76, 82 – ΥΓΙΕΙΑ, ΕΥΝΟΜΙΑ, ΠΑΙΔΙΑ, ΕΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ, ΙΜΕΡΟΣ, ΑΡΜΟΝΙΑ, ΚΑΛΗ, ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ, ΠΟΘΟΣ und ΗΔΥΛΟΓΟΣ (after: Smith, loc. cit., pp. 367 f. no. E 775.

7 Mainz, Universität, Archäologisches Institut 118 (lekanis lid): *ARV*^{2} 1327, 87 (Manner of the Meidias Painter); *Addenda* 364; Burn 1987, MM 128 pl. 21; Shapiro 1993, pp. 73 f. 236 no. 27 fig. 24 – Ε[Υ]ΚΛΕΙΑ, Ε[Υ]ΝΟΜΙ[Α, [two anonymous women], ΠΑΦΙΑ [= Aphrodite], [anonymous] (after: E. Böhr, *CVA Mainz 2, Deutschland 63*, München, 1993, pp. 45–7 pl. 27).

8 Munich, Antikensammlung 2520 (squat lekythos): Shapiro 1993, pp. 119, 181, 244, no. 57 figs 73, 140 – ΠΑΙΔΙΑ, ΙΜΕΡΟΣ (after: Roscher, ML III 1, S. 1251 f. drawing).

9 Naples, Mus. Arch. Naz. Stg. 316 (lekanis lid from Egnazia): *ARV*^{2} 1327, 85 (Manner of the Meidias Painter); *Addenda* 364; Burn 1987, MM 126; Shapiro 1993, pp. 73, 109, 236 no. 26 figs. 23, 61 – ΑΡΜΟΝΙΑ, ΕΥΚΛΕΙΑ, ΕΥΝΟΜΙΑ, ΠΑΝΥΧΙΣ, ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ, ΚΑΥΜΕΝΗ (after: H. Heydemann, *Die Vasensammlung des Museo Nazionale zu Neapel*, Berlin, 1872, pp. 708 f. no. 316).

10 New York, Metropolitan Mus. of Art 09.221.40 (pyxis): *ARV*^{2} 1328, 99 (Manner of the Meidias Painter); *Para* 479; *Addenda* 364 f.; Burn 1987, MM 143; Shapiro 1993,

pp. 32 ff., 129, 181, 203, 230, no. 1 figs 1, 83, 141, 162 – ΠΕΙΘΩ, ΑΦ[P]ΟΔΙΤΗ, ΗΥΓΙΕΙΑ, ΕΥ]ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑ, ΠΑΙΔΙΑ, ΕΥΚΛΕ[Ι]Α, ΑΠΟΝΙΑ (after: G.M.A. Richter – L.F. Hall, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New Haven/London/Oxford, 1936, pp. 202 ff. no. 161).

11 Reading, University, Mus. of Greek Archaeology 52.3.2 (squat Lekythos): *ARV*^{2} 1330,7 (Makaria Painter); *Para* 479; Shapiro 1993, pp. 88, 116, 119, 172, 238 no. 33 figs 42, 68, 132 – ΕΥΤΥΧΙΑ, ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ, ΙΜΕΡΟΣ, ΜΑΚ]ΑΡΙΑ (after: J.D. Beazley, 'Some Inscriptions on Vases: VII', *AJA* 61, 1957, p. 8 no. 22).

12 Ullastret, Mus. Monográphico 1486 (lekanis lid from Ullastret): Malluquer de Motes i Nicolau, J., – Picazo I Gurina, M., – Martin I Ortega, A., *CVA Ullastret 1, Spanien 5*, Barcelona, 1984, pp. 36 ff. pl. 34, 1; Burn 1987, MM 134 pl. 19b; Shapiro 1993, pp. 73 ff. 236 no. 28 fig. 25 – +PVZE (= Krusei), ONUMIA (=Eunomie), AIKE (=Niké), EUKAEA (=Eukleia) (after: *CVA*. Obviously some of the oddities of these transcriptions are due to a missing Greek font; most probably the inscriptions should read like: ΧΡΥΣΕ[ΙΣ, ΟΝΥΜΙΑ, [= Eunomia], ΛΙΚΕ [= Nike or Dike], ΕΥΚΛΕ[Ι]Α).

13 Formerly Athens, private collection (acorn lekythos from Athens): G. Körte, 'Eichelförmige Lekythos mit Goldschmuck aus Attika', *AZ* 37, 1879, pp. 95 ff.; Shapiro 1993, p. 242 no. 51 – ΑΡΜΟΝΙΑ, ΠΕΙΘΩ, ΥΓΙΕΙΑ, ΤΥΧΗ (after: Körte ebenda).

14 Formerly London, coll. Hope (hydria): Shapiro 1993, pp. 78. 235 no. 24 fig. 32 – anonymous woman, ΕΥΚΛΕ[Ι]Α and ΠΕΙΘΩ (after Shapiro 1993, fig. 32).

15 Formerly Paris, coll. Bauville (squat lekythos): *ARV*^{2} 1326,67 (Manner of the Meidias Painter); Shapiro 1993, p. 84 ff. 237 no. 31 fig. 38 – [goddess sitting in front of altar, column with statue = Aphrodite?], Θ]ΑΛΕΙΑ und ΕΥΝΟΜΙΑ (after: Shapiro 1993, fig. 38).

Fig 14.1 Chryse, Eunomia, Nike or Dike, Eukleia.

Fig 14.2 Eukleia offers the seated Eunomia a box (top left).

Fig 14.3 Himeros and Pothos pull Aphrodite's chariot.

Fig 14.4. (from left to right) Hygieia, Eunomia, Paidia, Eudaimonia, Himeros, Harmonia (seated), Kale, Aphrodite, Pothos and Hedylogos.

Fig 14.5 (from left to right) Kleopatra, Eunomia, Paidia, Aphrodite (Eros), Peitho, Eudaimonia.

Fig 14.6 Chorillos and Paidia.

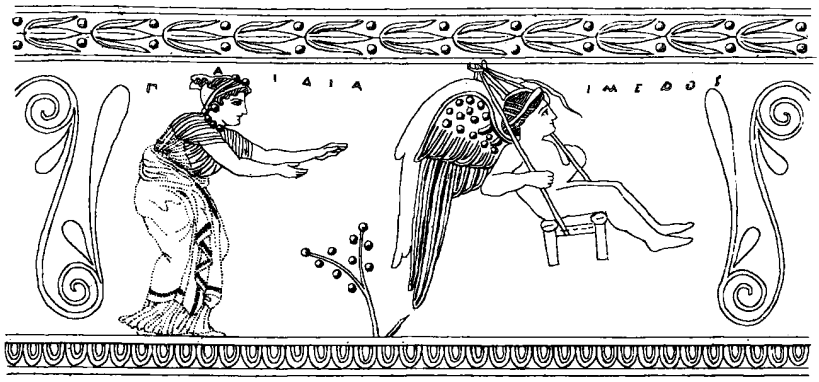


Fig 14.7 Paidia pushes Himeros on a swing.

15

From Drunkenness to a Hangover: maenads as personifications*

Amy C. Smith

The depiction of pots with named maenads – that is, characters with maenadic attributes and labels – is a Classical phenomenon that runs parallel to the depiction of personifications in Athenian art. I suggest, moreover, that it actually forms a chapter in the evolutionary history of visual personifications in Classical Athens. Just as personifications on pots had coincidental precedents in the Archaic period, namely personifications such as Peitho (Persuasion) in primarily mythical roles,[1] so did named maenads occasionally appear on pots in the Archaic period. Indeed two frequent tendencies among Attic vase painters of the Archaic period are the depiction of maenads and satyrs – the companions of Dionysos – and the popularity of *dipinti* or words painted on the surfaces of the pots, which have been called 'primary inscriptions'.[2] But while maenads and satyrs became no less common through the fifth century, most scholars have observed that the use of writing on pots declined after the Archaic period. Anthony Snodgrass has recently suggested that the primary inscriptions peak between the sixth and fifth centuries BC,[3] shortly before the 'Classical awakening', and somewhat after the introduction of the red figure style.[4] Some observed tendencies in the types of words found among 'primary inscriptions' explain their apparent

* This article is a reworking of parts of my PhD thesis, Smith 1997. I am grateful to J.J. Pollitt, my dissertation supervisor, as well as H.A. Shapiro and H. von Staden, who also read and commented on it. I am also grateful to E. Stafford and J. Herrin for the opportunity to present the work in this volume.

[1] See Smith 1999, 128–32.

[2] Lucilla Burn made a clear distinction between their 'primary inscriptions', those created in the potters' workshop, and 'secondary inscriptions', graffiti and other words scratched on a pot after its creation, in a lecture, 'Writing on Pots', delivered to the Seminar in Classical Archaeology at the Institute of Classical Studies, London, 24 January 2001.

[3] All dates are BC, unless otherwise noted.

[4] Snodgrass 2000, 31.

From *Personification In The Greek World: From Antiquity To Byzantium*, eds Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Copyright © 2005 by Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Published by Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, UK.

decline: ΚΑΛΟΣ inscriptions disappear around 440, and potters' and painters' signatures are fewer after the late Archaic period.[5] What appear in far greater numbers in the Classical period are, however, speech bubbles and labels, both of which are used to identify scenes and particularly characters. There are a few famous cases of unnecessary Archaic labels, such as those found on the François Vase (on which mythological characters who are made easily identifiable through their attributes are labelled, as are objects and scenery).[6] Yet I would argue that the labels become increasingly useful — to us and probably also to their Attic audience — in identifying new or relatively obscure scenes or characters that could not be easily identified through attributes.

A small portion of the satyrs and maenads are labelled as early as the last decades of the sixth century. While this phenomenon has been thoroughly studied by Charlotte Fränkel and now by Annelise Kossatz-Deissmann – who has brought the total number of pots exhibiting this tendency up to 121[7] – it has generally been assumed that these labels are pure whimsy, neither relevant to the figures or the scenes in which they appear.[8] In this paper I shall reassess the evidence and argue that these labels become meaningful and that the Classical maenads labelled with names that are nouns identifying things, events, places, or abstractions, are meant to represent or personify these entities. They should therefore be taken as a subclass of personifications. The maenads – who were thought by the Greeks to be real women – are undistinguishable, in form and function, from (other) human female figures who serve as personifications on art works.[9] Maenadism, which denotes association with Dionysos, is just another attribute given to this group of personifications. The maenads' companions, satyrs, were, however, theatrical impersonations of mythological characters that occasionally represent entities, in a manner closer to *prosopopoieia* (LSJ *s.v.*

[5] As an aside, I shall note a technical explanation for this apparent decline in the use of words on vases: whereas black-figure and early red-figure artists wrote the words in the same fired clay with which they decorated their figures – thus black words (to stand out from the red background) on black-figure vases and red words on red-figure vases – later red figure artists predominantly used white clay, added after the firing process, for their words. As with all 'added white' decoration, these later red-figure words have had a harder time surviving for appreciation by our modern eyes.

[6] Florence no. 4209: *ABV* 76.1.

[7] Kossatz-Deissmann 1991, 131–99.

[8] See most entries in *LIMC*, e.g. Eirene (3 [1986] 700–5) by E. Simon, in which Eirene's appearances as a maenad are classified and treated separately from her other appearances in human form.

[9] Joyce 1997, 2; Schöne 1987, 7.

προσωποποιία: 'the putting of speeches into the mouths of characters') than to personification.[10]

The named maenads on sixth-century Attic pots are a small and isolated group, especially as compared to those of the fifth century, when the tendency may even have spread to other arts. Oltos, c. 520, was the first painter to give individualizing names to maenads and satyrs. He was a prolific painter, with over 217 vases credited to him. Neither the attributes nor the context of his maenads and satyrs suggest that they were meaningfully named. For example, Charis (Grace) and Ianthe (Violet Blossom) are the names of maenads who associate with Sikinnos (a satyr named for a Dionysiac dance) in Oltos' pictures.[11] This practice did not catch on among Oltos' contemporaries,[12] and did not recur until the oeuvre of the Villa Giulia Painter, in the mid-fifth century. The Villa Giulia Painter, however, does seem to have passed on this tendency to his followers, the Chicago Painter and the Methyse Painter. The trend was also taken up by Polygnotos, his group, and their descendants, right down to the Dinos Painter at the end of the century, as well as the Eretria, Kodros, and other painters dating from the latter third of the fifth century to the beginning of the fourth century. One can make a certain sense out of the names given to maenads by these Classical painters: they suit either the scene or the particular attributes with which the maenads are endowed. What makes the interpretation of these figures a little less straightforward is the fact that many of these maenads seem to have been combined, conflated, or confused with other groups of female figures.

First there is the conflation of nymphs and maenads.[13] Nymphs are a multifaceted breed, but Dionysos' nymphs, also known as nurses, are of particular interest in consideration of maenads. In Classical art works Hermes is often shown bringing or handing his baby brother, Dionysos, to one of his nurses.[14] On a bell krater, in London (fig. 15.1), and a nearly matching one in Moscow (figs 15.2–3), the Villa Giulia Painter depicted Hermes handing Dionysos over to his nurses, who have already become

[10] On *prosopopoieia*, see Siorvanes *infra* pp. 84–8, Smith 1999, 139–41 and Stafford 2000, 3–11. A similar distinction between satyrs and the reality of maenads is made in Keuls 1985, 27–8.

[11] On a vase once on the Basel market (Kossatz-Deissmann 1991, 168) and on Berlin F 4220 (*ARV*[2] 61.76, 1700).

[12] Note, however, Euphronios' 'Galene', perhaps one of Pentheus' aunts, on a psykter in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 10.221: *ARV*[2] 16.14, 1619; *Add*[2] 154; *Para* 322. This 'Galene' is a coincidence or joke, at best – probably not intended as a personification – as the scene, which depicts the death of Pentheus, is far from calm.

[13] Joyce 1997, 2–3, 30, notes that this conflation, or ambiguity, persists through the Roman period.

[14] E.g., a pelike from Agrigento, Palermo 2187.

maenads.[15] As Robin Osborne has recently noted, '"nymph" and "maenad" are terms that work differently and are not mutually exclusive ... .'[16] The transformation of these specific nymphs/nurses into maenads is one about which we are well informed by literature, as early as Aischylos' *Xantriae* (fr. 169 Radt).[17] *Xantriae* was probably contemporary with the career of the Villa Giulia Painter, and may have inspired this and other representations by him. But as early as the François Vase, ca. 570–60 BC (*supra* n. 6) artists conflated nymphs and maenads: on that vase Dionysos is attended by horsey satyrs, labelled Silenoi (ΣΙΛΕΝΟΙ) and cymbal playing females, labelled Nymphs (ΝΥΦΑΙ). Much argument has centred on whether these 'nymphs' and their successors on Attic vases are merely nymphs, or maenads, or others. [18] Michael Padgett, more moderate than most, considers nymphs and maenads as separate entities that merely became confused. With reference to the François Vase he suggests that '... from this time on, nymphs, too, become members of the god's [Dionysos'] entourage, along with the mortal maenads, with whom the nymphs become confused and conflated.'[19]

But what of the names of these Classical maenads/nymphs? On the London krater (fig. 15.1) the maenads are named Tethys (Sea)[20] and Mainas (Maenad). Mainas should not be taken as a personification; the label Maenad, ΜΑΙΝΑΣ, is merely descriptive, meaning 'a mad woman'. One should not take the name of Tethys to be particularly meaningful either (as with the name of her mythological brother/husband Okeanos [Ocean]).[21] The use of her name as 'sea' certainly came about late, long after her mythology developed.[22] Of course that does not mean the Villa Giulia Painter did not name this maenad Tethys for a reason. Perhaps her inclusion

[15] London, British Museum E 492: *ARV*² 619.16; *Add*² 270; Moscow, The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts II 16 732: *ARV*² 618.4; *Add*² 270; *Para* 398. On a hydria from Nola, also by the Villa Giulia Painter (New York, MMA X.313.1; *ARV*² 623.69; *Add*² 271) a satyr, rather than Hermes, brings Dionysos to the (unlabelled) maenads. All of these vases date to the 450s.

[16] Osborne 1997, 197 n.32.

[17] The same idea is inferred in Eur. *Bacch.* 977–8 where the transformation is effected with reference to the personification Lyssa (Frenzy), whose hounds are invoked, although she never appears. Lyssa's other appearances in Attic tragedy are discussed by Dodds 1960, 199.

[18] For the distinction between maenads and nymphs see Hedreen 1994 and Carpenter 1995. See also Henrichs 1987, 100–05 on the conflation of maenads and nymphs in the oeuvre of the Amasis Painter (*ABV* 151.21).

[19] Padgett 2000, 52 *contra* Edwards 1960, 79, who sees nymphs as maenads without attributes.

[20] Tethys also appears as a maenad on a cup attributed to the Eretria Painter (430–420) in Warsaw, National Museum 142458 (fig. 15.5).

[21] Tethys (Τηθύς) was initially the consort of Okeanos (Hom. *Il.* 14.201, 302; Hes. *Theog.* 136, 337). Both were children of Earth and Heaven (Ge and Ouranos) (Hes. *Theog.* 136) and parents of the Okeanids and the rivers (Hes. *Theog* 337–69; Hom. *Il.* 14.201).

[22] Tethys later came to mean the sea itself: Anth. Pal. 7.214.6; Lycophr. 109; Nonnus, Dion. 31. 187; Orph. *Argonautica* 335.

here is meant to suggest the breadth of the realm of Dionysos. The scene on the calyx krater in Moscow is almost identical except that the one labelled maenad on that vase is Methyse (Drunkenness) (fig. 15.3).[23] Methyse emphasizes a light-hearted, but no less important aspect of Dionysos, the inebriation produced by wine, of which Dionysos was patron. I would call this character – who has no previous mythology – a true personification. Methyse and Mainas appeared again, probably in the same decade, on the name vase of the Methyse Painter,[24] an artist who has been deemed a close associate of the Chicago Painter, who in turn may have been a student of the Villa Giulia Painter.

Just as the Villa Giulia Painter blurred the distinction between nymphs and maenads, there is occasional overlap between the maenads and other groupings of women, such as Nereids. Maenads were women dressed up in special attire, in the circle of Dionysos and, similarly, Nereids were normal, or at least normal-looking women in bridal or seafaring contexts. Depending on the context, Galene (Calm, Tranquillity) is a maenad, as on Euphronios' death of Pentheus (*supra* n. 12), or a Nereid or perhaps simply a nymph. An example of the latter case is her appearance on a stamnos in Munich, where she approaches Herakles as he wrestles with the Nemean lion (fig. 15.4).[25] But she appears with another personification, Eunomia (Good Laws), on a bilingual lekythos in New York, attributed to the Eretria Painter (430–420).[26] In this case, however, Galene and Eunomia are clearly shown as Nereids, riding dolphins as they bring arms to Achilles. Galene also appears with Thaleia (Bounty), among other Nereids, on a pyxis also attributed to the Eretria Painter in London.[27] It might be worth mentioning a surprising kinship between Oltos and the Eretria Painter: not only are they the only two artists who gave Nereids the names of personifications, but they also shared the peculiarity of using maenads and Nereids interchangeably. As these two artists worked almost a century apart, however, it is impossible to trace the evolution of these trends through the history of Attic vase painters and workshops. Both artists were certainly innovators. The Eretria Painter even used an Amazon with the name of a personification, Arete (Virtue), on the same bilingual lekythos in New York (*supra* n. 24). Did the Eretria Painter's 'personifications' effect messages? Galene suggests the calm conditions – in a lull between Trojan War episodes – in which the Nereids brought these arms to Achilles, while Eunomia underscores the propriety of

[23] Moscow, The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts II 16 732: *ARV*² 618.4; *Add*² 270; *Para* 398.

[24] New York, MMA 07.285.85: *ARV*² 632.3; *Add*² 272.

[25] Munich, Antikensammlung V.I. 239 (cat. nos 2407, J 415): *ARV*² 274.345, 1641; *CVA München* 5.32–33, pls. 240.5 [955], 241 [956].

[26] New York, MMA 31.11.13: *ARV*² 1248.9, 1688; *ARV*² 336; *Para* 457.

[27] London, BM 1874.5–12.1 (E 774): *ARV*² 1250.32; *Add*² 354; *Para* 469.

the event depicted on the lekythos. Galene and Thaleia are the type of qualities that might be wished upon a newly-wed couple for whom the pyxis (*supra* n. 27) might have been a gift. In a similarly optimistic spirit, Galene appears on a large pelike in Empúries which might have depicted a choral festival at the Thargelia (associated with Apollo).[28] Thalea (Good Cheer) also appears on that pelike and among other maenads and satyrs on the name vase (an amphora) of the group of Naples H 3235.[29] She is distinguished, by the spelling of her name, from the multifaceted Thaleia, who is also known as a muse (in the Hellenistic period), or earlier as a maenad or South Italian heroine,[30] as well as a Nereid (*supra* n. 27).

Local personifications may also be represented as maenads. Three Greek islands, Delos, Euboia and Lemnos, appear on the Eretria Painter's cup in Warsaw (fig. 15.5) as maenads engaged in a dance with their mother, Tethys, as well as some maenads with musical names and satyrs.[31] These personifications are marked as maenads not by association with Dionysos but because they cavort with satyrs. And while they carry no attributes that suggest a political reading, their depiction in this spirited scene might have been politically motivated. The island of Delos was technically

[28] Empúries, Museo Arqueológico 1494 (formerly Barcelona, Museo Arqueológico 33, and earlier Palace de la Diputacio, ex Alfaras Coll. [before 1908]): CVA Barcelona 1, 33–8, figs 1–2, pls 29.8 [127, 129–32]. Galene is labelled (ΓΑ[ΛΗΝΗ]) just to the right of the inside knee of Dionysos), but her figure is missing, as is that of Thalea, whose label was not found by this author, but had been reported by previous viewers.

[29] Naples H 3235 (410-400): *ARV*² 1316.1; *Add*² 362.

[30] For Thaleia the Muse (only in the Hellenistic period) see *LIMC* 7 add. 991–1013 *s.v.* Mousa, Mousai (L. Faedo). She appears as a maenad on cups by Oltos (520–510), with other maenads and satyrs on Vatican, Museo Etrusco 35266/Brussels, Musées Royaux 253 (*ARV*² 64.104; *CVA Vatican* pl. 2.2), and with Euope and Rhodo, among others, on Compiègne, Musée Vivenel 1093 (*ARV*² 64.105). For the South Italian Thaleia, the eponymous nymph of a place near Aitna, in Sicily, see *LIMC* 7 (1994) 896–98 *s.v.* Thaleia 2 (A. Kossatz-Deissmann). In ancient written sources Thaleia's identity is likewise variable. Thaleia is listed as one of the Charites in Hes. *Theog.* 909, and Bacchyl. 13.186–7, where Eunomia is said to receive Thaleia as her lot.

[31] Warsaw National Museum 142458 (ex Goluchow Coll. 77): *ARV*² 1253.58. Attributed to the Eretria Painter (430–420). In conversation with Leto, she appears in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (Hymn. *Hom. Ap.* 62–82); in this case she seems to be a true personification and not divinised. A type A pyxis attributed to the Marlay Painter (440–430) in Ferrara (Museo Nazionale di Spina 20298: *ARV*² 1277.22; *LIMC* 3 [1986] 368 *s.v.* Delos 1 no. 1, pl. 270 [P. Bruneau]) is her only explicit appearance with the Delian triad in the visual arts. Delos is a likely identification for the fourth figure – the other three of whom constitute the Delian triad – on side B of the name vase (a calyx krater) of the Group of the Palermo Phaon (410–400; Manner of the Meidias Painter): Palermo, Museo Archeologico 2187 (*ARV*² 1321.9, 1690; *Add*² 363; *Para* 478). What is surprising is that she is seated on an omphalos, behind an olive tree, with a tripod in the distance. These indicators are of course more appropriate to Apollo's adopted home at Delphi. For more on the personification of Delos see Gallet de Santerre 1976, 291–8 or Bruneau 1985, 551–6.

independent, but was clearly under Athenian control in the high Classical period, when the Delian League, of which Delos was the nominal centre, had essentially become the Athenian empire. So it is tempting to regard this assemblage of islands – important members of Athens' maritime confederacy, the Delian League – together in a celebratory context as an intimation of the benefit of political union under Athenian leadership. The naming of the satyr on the tondo of the cup, Demon (ΔHMON), whether a misspelling or an unintentional adaptation of Demos (ΔHMOΣ), may also have been intended as an allusion to Demos (Populace). He is placed at the centre of the vase just as the Demos of Athens thought of itself at the centre of the Delian League.[32]

If nymphs, Nereids, and maenads are barely distinguishable from each other in name or function, what clues are there to help us – or indeed the ancient audience – to discern maenads from among the wealth of female figures? In ancient Greek art maenads are only distinguishable from other human females through their attributes, actions and companions. The Greek patriarchy regarded human females as naturally inclined toward madness and irrationality, like animals, and believed that every woman tended toward maenadism.[33] As maenads are inspired to frenzy by Dionysos, their distinguishing attributes – thyrsos, ivy wreath and nebris or animal skin – are common to Dionysos' circle. Particularly in later periods, they are also given frenzied expressions. Unlike Dionysos' male companions, the satyrs, however, they rarely exhibit physical indications of sexual arousal and are almost always clothed. A notable exception is Paidia (Amusement) on a cup attributed to the Jena Painter, c. 400–390, now in Würzburg (fig. 15.6 = detail of Borg fig. 14.6).[34] In this representation she does not bear maenad attributes, but is naked, and aroused, shown engaged in sexual intercourse with a satyr, Chorillos. Clearly, attributes are not needed here: the satyr marks her as a maenad and the activity earns her her name.

With or without the attributes and the satyrs,[35] maenads are shown to be associates if not worshippers of Dionysos, and thus those who are personifications personify some aspect of the Dionysiac realm. Those that are most clearly Dionysiac, such as Komodia (Comedy) and Tragodia (Tragedy), always appear in the Classical period as maenads. As on a volute krater in New York, attributed to the Coghill Painter, they bear the tools of their trades, the theatrical masks that were later given to Thaleia and

[32] For more on Demos, see Smith 1997, ch. 4.

[33] For a historical survey of specific women who practiced maenadism, see Henrichs 1978. Osborne 1997 provides a nice overview of the sources and the changing (modern) view of historical and other maenads.

[34] Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum H 4663 (L 492): *ARV*² 1512.18.

[35] See McNally 1978, 104–05, however, for the argument that (mythical) maenads depend on the presence of satyrs to render them Dionysiac.

Melpomene, the muses of these literary genres (cf. Murray, *infra* pp. 117–29).[36] Kraipale (Hangover), a seated maenad whose appearance is quite pleasant, although her demeanour reveals her unhealthy state, is perhaps the most self-explanatory personification shown as a maenad. She appears with Sikinnos and Thymedia on the name vase of the Kraipale Painter (fig. 15.7).[37] Although Kraipale rests her weight on her thyrsos, her limp right hand barely holds up Dionysos' kantharos. Thymedia, whose name translates to something like 'Gladness of Heart', incidentally, may also be a personification; Thymedia, read as Thymelia (ἡ θυμελαία), could also refer to wine (flavoured with a type of honey) that she bears in her unusual vessel (a goblet or a pyxis?). She is also labelled on a krater in the manner of the Dinos Painter, in Athens, in a Dionysiac thiasos that includes Paidia.[38]

Yet we should be careful not to infer a Dionysiac subject when there is no specific indication of one, for not every vase painting with maenads and satyrs as personifications treats an explicitly Dionysiac theme: the Eretria Painter's cup in Warsaw (fig. 15.5) is a prime example. A Dionysiac element might also be combined with another theme, as logically occurs with Eirene (Peace). There is a natural connection between Eirene and Opora (Harvest, Autumn), two personifications who appear exclusively in the circle of Dionysos on Attic vases from the era of the Peloponnesian War. Eirene was earlier known as one of the Horai (Seasons),[39] presumably the season in which everyone was free from military duties, and devoted their attentions to reaping the ripened crops.[40] Opora which means the ripened fruit as well as the time at which the fruit becomes ready for harvest, must be the same season.[41] Opora is highly relevant to the abstract, political meaning of *eirene* as the crops could not come to fruition in times of war. This was one of the greatest problems for the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War: from the beginning (431/430), Spartan forces repeatedly ravaged the Athenian countryside and crops.[42] Because of the Spartan assaults, Opora was absent

[36] New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 24.97.25ab (on which they appear with Dionysos and satyrs): *ARV* 688. See also a chous in Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, 22B324 (and Leipzig, Antikenmuseum der Universität, T727), attributed to the Hobart Painter, on which Tragoidia carries a lyre. Other appearances of one or both of these theatrical personifications are found on Compiègne, Musée Vivenel 1025 (*ARV*² 1055.76, 1680; *Add*² 322), Paris, Louvre G 421 (*ARV*² 1037.1; *Add*² 319; *Para* 443); Florence 151510 with Leipzig T 727; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G 284 (V 534); Empúries, Museo Arqueógico 1494 (*supra* n. 28).

[37] Boston, MFA (430–420): *ARV*² 1214.1, 1685, 1687; *Add*² 348. On Kraipale and hangover cures, see Stafford 2001.

[38] Athens, Agora P 9189: *ARV*² 1685 (420–410).

[39] Hes. *Theog.* 901–2.

[40] See *LIMC* 3 (1986) 700 *s.v.* Eirene (E. Simon) for a discussion of temporality in Hesiod.

[41] LSJ *s.v.* ὀπώρα. Opora refers to harvest time in the epics: Hom. *Il.* 22.27; *Od.* 11.192, 24.343–4.

[42] Thuc. 2.19, *passim*.

during most of the Peloponnesian War, and one might surmise that she would only arrive when Eirene was present. Aristophanes in *Peace* (produced in 421) made this connection. Opora and Theoria (Festival Embassy) attend Eirene, who had been buried by Polemos (War), when she is recovered by the farmer Trygaios.[43]

Eirene is only represented twice on fifth-century vases. In both instances she is shown as one of the maenads in the retinue of Dionysos. In the period from 420–410, following her appearance in Aristophanes' *Peace* and indeed the Peace of Nikias (421), she is illustrated on a calyx krater in Vienna, attributed to the Dinos Painter (420–410) (fig. 15.8).[44] In this scene Eirene exchanges glances with a satyr named Hedyoinos (Sweet Wine), and offers him a drink from a rhyton.[45] She and Dionysos, who is seated in the centre, turn their backs on each other; this reflects the Athenian complaint that the gods had abandoned the Greeks' prayers for peace.[46] On the other hand, when the Athenians renewed their optimism (in vain) a decade later (410–400), Eirene and Dionysos are actually depicted as lovers, on a pelike once in Paris, attributed to the Group of Naples 3235 (fig. 15.9).[47] While scholars have been eager to see in this representation a figure akin to Euripides' Eirene, in *Bacchae* (produced in 406) – 'He [Dionysos] loves the goddess Peace, generous of good, preserver of the young (*kourotrophos*)' – the characterization of the latter figure as a *kourotrophos* rather distances her from the young lover of the pelike, as Stafford rightly points out.[48]

Eirene also appears in the non-ceramic arts of Athens. Erika Simon has tentatively identified the seated woman surrounded by three dancing women, on the East frieze of the Temple of Athena Nike on the Akropolis (after 421), as Themis with her daughters, the Horai (Seasons) – Dike

[43] Ar. *Pax* 520–26. For a possible personification of Theoriai in the visual arts see a calyx krater attributed to the Oinomaos Painter, Athens, NM 1435: *ARV*^{2} 1440.4; *Add*^{2} 377; *LIMC* 7 (1994) 435 *s.v.* Pompe no. 3 (E. Simon); *LIMC* 6 (1992) 482 *s.v.* Menses no. 1, pl. 256 (D. Parrish). Theoria is generally associated with the festivals that were another aspect of life of which Athenians were deprived during wartime.

[44] Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum IV 1024 (ex Lamberg Coll. 189): *ARV*^{2} 1152.8; *Add*^{2} 336; *LIMC* 7 (1994) 56 *s.v.* Opora no. 1, pl. 44 (C. Weiss), *s.v.* Oinanthe no. 1 (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); *LIMC* 6 (1992) 94 *s.v.* Komos no. 20 (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); *LIMC* 4 (1988) 472 *s.v.* Hedyoinos no. 1 (A. Kossatz-Deissmann), pl. 279; *LIMC* 3 (1986) 413, *s.v.* Dione no. 11, pl. 295 (E. Simon), 645 *s.v.* Dithyrambos no. 3 (M. Kokolakis), 704 *s.v.* Eirene no. 11, pl. 542 (E. Simon).

[45] This image recalls Aristophanes' characterization of peace as a bottle of wine in *Acharnians* (produced in 425).

[46] E.g. Ar. *Pax* 207–09.

[47] *ARV*^{2} 1316.3.

[48] Eur. *Bacch.* 419–20; Stafford 2000, 188.

(Justice), Eirene and Eunomia.[49] The figures are so fragmentary that it is impossible to identify them with any certainty. The absence of comparable representations of this particular grouping of the Horai in Classical art makes this identification even more tenuous. Yet it is a tempting suggestion. Fifth-century poets followed the genealogy whereby Eirene, Eunomia and Dike were the Horai, daughters of Themis.[50] And in *Persai*, Timotheos of Miletos prays for Apollo to send Eirene and Eunomia to relieve the populace (of Athens?).[51] But in her appearances in the visual arts of fifth-century Athens, Eirene's role as one of the Seasons is virtually ignored. A fragmentary altar at Brauron, dating to the early fourth century, may illustrate Eunomia (rather than Theoria) together with Eirene in a Dionysiac procession (fig. 15.10).[52] Neither the extant inscriptions nor the reconstruction of the altar, however, allow room for Dike and Themis.[53] Themis and the Horai in a Dionysiac procession would be highly unusual: besides the logical connection of fertility and the seasons, Eirene's association with Dionysos is clearly a separate matter from her role as one of the Horai. Eirene is worshipped as a fertility deity by Aristophanes' farmers,[54] and may have been worshipped by actual Athenians, at the *Dionysiai*, festivals to Dionysos. She was also treated as a deity by Euripides, who envisioned her as a civic goddess in an ode from *Kresphontes* (probably produced between 430 and 424):

> Very wealthy Eirene, most beautiful of the blessed gods, I long for you, for you tarry. I am afraid that old age may overcome me with toil before I behold your charming youth, and your songs with their beautiful dances, and your crown-

[49] *LIMC* 3 (1986) 703–04 *s.v.* Eirene no. 9 (E. Simon). These figures are identified as the Muses in Pemberton 1972, 309. For earlier representations of the Horai see Hanfmann 1951, 1.94–103.

[50] Hes. *Theog.* 901–02; see also Bacchyl. 14.59 and Pind. *Ol.* 9.22–4 and 13.6–8. The three are also connected with the city in an unattributed fragment (fr. 1018b.6–8 Page, PMG). For specific works on Eirene in literature and art see Stafford 2000, 173–97, Simon 1988 and Scheibler 1984, 39–57.

[51] Aeschin. *Tim.* 5.31.

[52] Brauron Museum 1177 (dated following Boardman 1995, 16). Fuchs and Vikelas 1985, 45–6 suggested Theoria as the identification of the female figure labelled [...]IA. This would indeed be a likelier character if they have correctly identified as Opora the figure for whom the extant label is ...]Ω[. With the exception of Eirene and Dionysos, for whom the figures as well as the labels are well preserved, the identities of all of these figures are highly conjectural. Fuchs and Vikelas also noted a label, AHTΩ, the position of which they could not ascertain. I did not see this fragmentary label during my visit to the Brauron Museum.

[53] *IG* I^3 1407bis.

[54] Ar. *Ach.* 26; *Pax* 360, *passim*. The evidence for Eirene's worship at Athens before the fourth century is limited to Plutarch's attestation of an altar dedicated to her after the Battle of the Eurymedon (466) (Plut. *Vit. Cim.* 13.6). As Shapiro (1993, 45) suggests, it is likely that Plutarch '... has confused the events of 466 with those of 375/4, when both the altar and Kephisodotos' statue [our fig. 15.12] would have been put up to commemorate a peace treaty with Sparta'.

> loving revels. Come to my city, mistress, but keep hateful Stasis [Dissention] away from the house, and mad Eris [Strife], who delights in the sharpened sword.[55]

At the end of a later play, *Orestes* (produced in 408), Apollo orders Orestes, Menelaos and the others to 'go on your way now, honouring the most beautiful goddess, Peace'.[56] Although the words of Euripides and Aristophanes are not evidence that Eirene had achieved cult status at this time, they are strong indications that some Athenians already revered her.[57]

Opora further emphasizes the agricultural link between Eirene and Dionysos. Likewise Opora's political nature may be inferred through her association with Eirene (as in fig. 15.8). She is not personified in literature until her appearance in Aristophanes' *Peace*,[58] and is only labelled three or four times in Classical Athenian art, where she appears as a maenad attending Dionysos, as on a Meidian vase in the late Herbert Cahn's collection (fig. 15.11).[59] Her first labelled appearance in visual arts, on a volute krater in Ruvo attributed to the Kadmos Painter,[60] is dated to the 420s, the same decade in which Aristophanes' Opora first appeared. On this vase Opora emerges from behind a hill carrying a platter or tray of fruits and a libation oinochoe, presumably to the god Dionysos, patron of wine and vineyards, who reclines on his couch. Opora's bountiful platter becomes her standard attribute, with which we may identify her on later vases. Her second attribute on this vase – a libation oinochoe – suggests a religious context, which would seem more appropriate to Opora's Aristophanic companion, Theoria (Festival Embassy), as it would be used for sacrifices that took place in festivals. Perhaps this one figure is doing double duty for the two attendants that Aristophanes gave to Eirene. It is likely that she is represented, although not labelled, in many other Dionysiac scenes in Attic art,[61] as well as on South Italian vases.[62] Two labels on the round altar at

---

[55] Eur. *Kresphontes*, fr. 453 N^2. The beginning of the ode was parodied in Ar. *Georgoi* fr. 111 KA, probably produced in 424. For the dates see Harder 1985, 3. In another ode to Peace, *Heracl.* 371–80, Euripides connects Eirene with the success of cities.

[56] Eur. *Or.* 1682–3. A scholiast comments on these lines as a reference to the ongoing Peloponnesian War, in which the Athenians had not persuaded the Spartans to make peace.

[57] See further Smith 1997, 101–04; Stafford (2000, 184–8) takes the same view.

[58] See also Ar. *Fr.* 581 KA.

[59] HAC 541A, to be published with the rest of the Cahn fragments in a forthcoming volume from Akanthus, *Ostraka* vol. II, edited by Adrienne Lezzi-Hafter and Robert Guy.

[60] Ruvo, Museo Jatta 36818 (cat. no. J 1093): *ARV*^{2} 1184.1; *Add*^{2} 340; *Para* 460; *LIMC* 5 (1990) 426 *s.v.* Himeros no. 17 (A. Hermary); *LIMC* 4 (1988) 47 *s.v.* Eudaimonia 2 no. 1 (A. Kossatz-Deissmann), 48 *s.v.* Eudia 2 no. 2 (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); *LIMC* 3 (1986) 457 *s.v.* Dionysos no. 372, pl. 339 (D. Gasparri).

[61] E.g., on a bell krater attributed to the Pothos Painter (420–410), in Madrid, Museo Arqueologico 11.052 (L 222) where she must be the figure bearing fruit who attends Dionysos (*ARV*^{2} 1188.4; *Add*^{2} 341; *LIMC* 7 [1994] 57 *s.v.* Opora no. 8, pl. 45). See Queyrel 1984.

Brauron (fig. 15.10) might be restored to [ΘΕΩΡ]ΙΑ and [ΟΠ]Ω[ΡΑ], so that Eirene would be united with both of her Aristophanic companions, appropriately in a Dionysiac procession.

Peace would lead not only to a harvest (Opora), but to prosperity/happiness, which is likewise embodied by Attic artists as the maenad Eudaimonia. She appears with Opora, for example, on the Ruvo krater (*supra* n. 60). These three expressions of agricultural prosperity – Eirene, Opora and Eudaimonia – would also bring the day-to-day pleasures of Paidia and Festivals. Although they are not shown with her in the art of Classical Athens, these subsidiary gifts that Eirene could give to Athens – *pompe* (procession), *theoria* (spectacle), and specific festivals such as *pannychis* (night revel), and *pandaisia* (banquet), were also occasionally personified in Attic arts at the turn of the century. They belong to a large group of seemingly spontaneous personifications that cluster at that time.

It is not surprising that Eirene is little represented in the arts of Athens during the Peloponnesian War, for many of the Athenians were hopeful that they could win the war, rather than submit to an equivocal peace. The prevailing democratic ideal was *eleutheria*, freedom, which entailed liberty to participate in the democracy and to live as one pleased; neither of these goals was necessarily guaranteed by peace. The demagogues of Athens repeatedly opposed Spartan overtures to peace throughout the Peloponnesian War.[63] The oligarchs, on the other hand, seem to have favoured peace, particularly in 411, when they deemed it a preferable fate to a democratic overthrow of the rule of the Four Hundred.[64] It also comes as no surprise that the personification of Eirene temporarily disappears from extant sources after 400: the agreements made at the end of the Peloponnesian War brought neither a lasting peace to the Greeks nor immediate hope for peace. Euripides' last words on Eirene, 'generous of good, preserver of the young' (*supra* n. 48), foreshadow her return after 375. When she returns, she is still a fertility deity, but no longer a maenad, and is rather presented as the mature mother or nurse of (agricultural) wealth, epitomised in Kephisodotos' statue of Eirene and Ploutos (fig. 15.12).[65]

Each named maenad represents 'the Dionysiac' on one level and something more specific on a deeper level. The maenadic aspect is a mask that (temporarily) transforms and transports the character, whether or not a personification, into the Dionysiac world.[66] So it follows that the most

[62] For Opora outside Athens see *LIMC* 7 (1992) 55–8 *s.v.* Opora (C. Weiss).

[63] Kleon after Pylos, in 425 (Thuc. 4.21.3–22.2.), Hyperbolos with regard to the Peace of Nikias, in 421 (*IG* I^3 82.5, 85.3), and Kleophon after Kyzikos, in 410, as well as Arginusai, in 406/5 (Philoch. 328 F 139 *FGrH*; Diod. Sic. 13.53.1–2.).

[64] Thuc. 8.91.3.

[65] Paus. 1.8.3 and 9.16.2; see Stafford 2000, 178–84, with bibliography.

[66] Schlesier 1993, 92, makes a similar argument with regard to maenads in tragedy.

general meaning of each maenadic personification is that she is concerned with the joy, excess, fertility, or even madness associated with Dionysos. Each character must also be read in its particular context, as Osborne has argued in his analysis of the selectivity with which Classical artists depicted maenads.[67] And clearly some maenads are shown in Classical Attic arts in spheres barely related to Dionysos, while others begin to lose their maenadic aspects. First Dionysos' nurses are transformed into maenad-personifications. And Calm (Galene) appeared interchangeably as a maenad, Nereid, or nymph. As the popularity of personifications grew in the fourth century, the overlap between maenads and other human women grew, and several personifications that embodied political entities, such as Eirene, appeared as maenads in Dionysiac contexts, or as 'normal' women elsewhere. In each case, the context may have altered the allegory, but did not annul the inherent meaning of each personification. The decision, on the part of each artist, regarding which humanized form to give to a personification was affected by the context of the scene illustrated, rather than by strict adherence to the origins of each personification herself.

[67] Osborne 1997, 199.

Fig. 15.1 Hermes and baby Dionysos among maenads, one named Tethys. Calyx krater attributed to the Villa Guilia Painter, c. 460 BC.

Fig. 15.2 Hermes and baby Dionysos among maenads, one labelled Methyse. Calyz krater attributed to the Villa Guilia Painter, c. 460 BC.

Fig. 15.3 Detail of 15.2, showing the label for Methyse.

Fig. 15.4 Galene, Herakles and the lion. Stamnos attributed to the Harrow Painter, c. 480–70 BC.

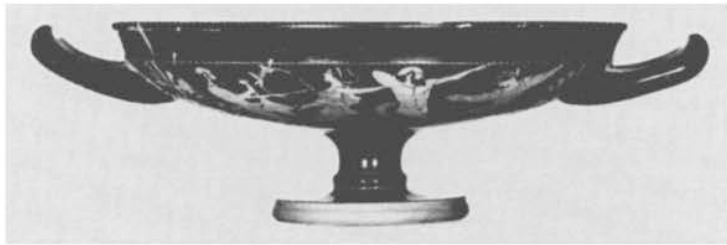


Fig. 15.5 Delos, Euboia and Lemnos dancing with their mother, Tethys, musical maenads and satyrs. Cup attributed to the Eretria Painter, c. 430–20 BC.

Fig 15.6 Paidia with Chorillos. Cup attributed to the Jena Painter, c. 400–390 BC.

Fig. 15.7 Kraipale. Chous, name vase of the Kraipale Painter, c. 430–20 BC.

Fig. 15.8 Eirene with Hedyoinos, Dionysos, Opora and others. Calyz krater attributed to the Dinos Painter, c. 420–10 BC.

Fig 15.9 Dionysos and Eirene, among others. Pelike attributed to the Group of Naples 3235, c. 410–00 BC.

Fig. 15.10 Eirene and others in a Dionysiac (?) procession. Limestone altar from Brauron, early fourth century BC.

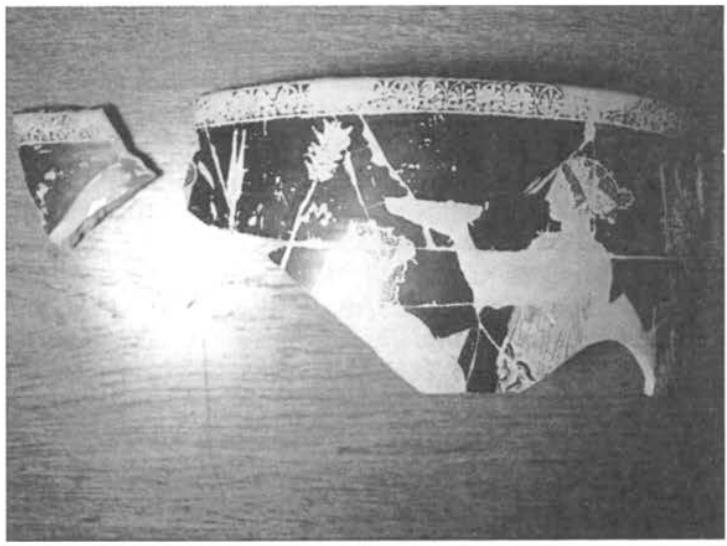


Fig. 15.11 Opora. Meidian skyphos, c. 420–00 BC.

Fig. 15.12 Roman copy of Kephisodotos' Eirene (original c. 370s BC).

16

Personifications and *paideia* in Late Antique mosaics from the Greek East*

Ruth Leader-Newby

Archaeological sites in the Eastern Mediterranean, above all in the modern states of Cyprus, Syria and Turkey, have yielded a rich supply of mosaic pavements dating to the fourth to sixth centuries AD, a significant number of which feature personifications of abstract concepts. Perhaps the best-known (and most discussed) examples of these were excavated in the 1930s in Antioch on the Orontes and its suburbs, but more recently important examples have also been found in Apamea and Shahba-Philoppolis in Syria and Nea Paphos on Cyprus.[1] These abstract personifications appear in three different types of context. First, one finds single abstract personifications featuring as emblemata within a geometric carpet design: the depictions of Soteria (Safety) (fig. 16.1) and Apolausis (Enjoyment) (fig. 16.2) in separate rooms of the late fourth-century Baths of Apolausis at Antioch are good examples. In another case, the sixth-century Megalopsychia mosaic, also from Antioch, the geometric carpet is replaced by a design of hunters against a white background, but the emblema principle is the same, as Megalopsychia (Great-spiritedness or Generosity) is enclosed in a circular medallion in the centre of the floor (fig. 16.3). One also finds combinations of related personifications, such as Aion (Eternity) and the Chronoi (three different types of time – past, present and future) at Antioch (fig. 16.4), or Euteknia, Philosophia and Dikaiosyne (Having Good Children, which is the result of their education in Philosophy and Righteousness) at Shahba-

*This paper was written and researched with the support of a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship at the Department of Classics, King's College London. I would also like to thank Charlotte Roueché, my colleague there, for a number of stimulating conversations about personifications and their relation to late antique literary and epigraphic culture.

[1] The main publications are Levi 1947; Balty 1977; Daszewski 1985; Kondoleon 1995. Also see the general overview of mosaic production in these areas in Dunbabin 1999, 160–86; 226–32; and the recent discussion of Antioch mosaics in Kondoleon 2000, 63–77.

From *Personification In The Greek World: From Antiquity To Byzantium*, eds Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Copyright © 2005 by Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Published by Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, UK.

Philoppolis (fig. 16.5). The third use of personifications in late antique mosaics is in mythological scenes. Examples have been found in Nea Paphos, Apamea and Shahba-Philoppolis, but not in Antioch. An early fourth-century mosaic from the House of Aion in Nea Paphos is a particularly good example: it depicts five different mythological scenes, at least three of which feature abstract personifications. Thus Plane (Error) is present at the competition between Apollo and Marsyas, and Theogonia (Divine Birth) stands by as Hermes presents the baby Dionysos to the Nymphs, one of which is herself an abstract personification, being labelled Anatrophe, or Nurture (fig. 16.6). This last type of abstract personification can be seen as 'articulatory', in that it seems to offer a commentary on the events taking place in the scene depicted and to direct the viewer's interpretation of it.

In this paper I shall be looking at all three types of abstract personifications in late antique mosaics that I have just described. The personifications follow earlier Classical convention in being female, with the exception of the figures in the tableau of Aion and the Chronoi. Their costume is a mixture of generic Classical and specifically late antique elements: the women wear a tunic and a mantle, which usually do not have any characteristically late antique decorative elements such as applied patches (clavi) or bands, although Apolausis and Megalopsychia from Antioch and Theogonia from Nea Paphos are exceptions (figs. 16.2, 3, 6). In many of the Antioch mosaics, the tunic and mantle are often of rich colours: Tryphe (Luxury) in the House of Menander wears a tunic made of blue glass tesserae, while Ktisis (which can mean both Foundation or Acquisition) in the House of Ge and the Seasons wears a violet tunic and a red mantle (fig. 16.7). Another feature of the Antioch personifications (in particular those displayed singly in emblemata) is their elaborate jewellery, which in contrast to the clothes is typically late antique in style, displaying a fondness for large cabochon gems in necklaces and diadems, combined with pearls or small gold beads. The figure of Ktisis from the House of Ge and the Seasons (dated by Levi to the second half of the fifth or the early sixth century) wears a diadem of large, round red and green jewels separated by a vertical series of two pearls (fig. 16.7).[2] Megalopsychia (fig. 16.3) wears earrings consisting of large pearls hanging from gold threads, a diadem with a large yellow jewel in the centre of her forehead, and a jewelled collar with red and green stones and gold discs. An earlier example, the bust of Soteria from the Baths of Apolausis, dated to the second half of the fourth century (fig. 16.1), wears a garland of gold leaves with a green jewel in the centre, as well as

[2] Levi 1947.

earrings and necklaces with similar stones, doubtless intended to represent emeralds, which were popular in Roman and early Byzantine times.[3]

Regardless of the different ways in which abstract personifications are deployed on eastern mosaics, they share a common feature — the use of name labels to identify the personifications. Indeed, one could argue that it is the increasing use of name-labels by eastern mosaicists from the late second/early third century onwards that allows abstract personifications to be represented at all, since their abstract nature does not lend itself easily to the assignation of attributes, which had been the more traditional manner of identifying personifications in Graeco-Roman art. This phenomenon of labelling, which is by no means restricted to obscure figures like our personifications – as the House of Aion mosaic from Cyprus shows – is an under-explored aspect of late antique mosaic production in the Greek East, and I hope that looking at its use in connection with the phenomenon of abstract personifications, will offer insights into the reason for its popularity in late antiquity. But first the question must be addressed, why the prosperous citizens of the late antique cities of the Greek east were so keen to see abstract personifications on the floors of their homes, as well as in the public buildings, such as baths, that they frequented.

There have already been several attempts by scholars to answer this question. One of the earliest commentators on the phenomenon of abstract personifications at Antioch was Glanville Downey. In a 1938 article he declared that the personifications in the Antioch mosaics 'furnish new and noteworthy evidence of the analytical and subjective attitude toward moral and personal values which is characteristic of the late Graeco-Roman period'.[4] According to Downey, the focus on single personifications was a result of the inability of late antique literature and philosophy to offer a chance for personal expression. This led to an interest in and appreciation of virtues and personal attributes possessed by an individual that were cultivated for their own sake, rather than as part of a philosophical doctrine. Doro Levi, in his magnum opus of 1946, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, also stressed the philosophical and cosmic aspects of the personifications, although unlike Downey he was more inclined to try and connect them to ancient philosophical doctrines. Commenting on a panel depicting Tryphe (Luxury) in the House of Menander (dated to the period 235–312 AD) he noted:

[3] Ogden 1992, 35–6. His fig. 20, a gold necklace with emeralds and pearls dating to the sixth or seventh century in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, reflects well the aesthetics of the pieces worn by the personifications, as do some opus interrasile bracelets set with large emeralds and sapphires in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, and the British Museum, London. See Buckton 1994, 52–3, cat. 37; Kondoleon 2000, 124, cat. 13.

[4] Downey 1938, 349.

> With this panel we decidedly enter the field of the personifications of abstract conceptions, no longer belonging even in an indirect way to mythology, but referring only to speculative thought, to rhetoric and philosophy.[5]

Similarly a bust of Ananeosis (Renewal) surrounded by the four seasons (fig. 16.8) is interpreted as 'one more derivation from that symbolism of cosmic principles and philosophical ideas which we discussed in connection with Aion' (that is, in relation to the mosaic of Aion and the Chronoi).[6] The degree to which abstract personifications in late antique mosaics should be seen in a philosophical context continues to be an issue of debate among scholars. Janine Balty has argued that for some Syrian mosaics of this period the presence of an inscription should be seen as implying a philosophical, or at least speculative, interpretation of the mosaic's subject, and she includes mosaics with abstract personifications in this category.[7] However, the types of 'philosophical interpretation' that she favours are 'weak' ones for the most part: she sees a personification of Agnoia (Ignorance) in a scene of Zeus and Alcmene in Emesa as indicating Alcemene's ignorance of Zeus' disguise, rather than a more cosmic character who represents the source of all evil, as J.-P. Darmon, another French scholar had suggested.

Yet perhaps we should be less confidant that we can 'fix' the meanings of these mosaics for their ancient viewers. The inscriptions could, and probably did, act as hints towards an interpretation of the mosaic, but the degree to which that interpretation was more or less allegorical, or influenced by philosophical principles, depended on the viewer, his level of education and intellectual inclinations. These mosaics were for the most part commissioned for public areas of a house: reception rooms and dining rooms, where they would be seen, and commented on, by those who saw them. A number of literary works, such as Plutarch's *Quaestiones Conviviales* and Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistoi*, as well as their late antique successor, the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius, attest to a well-established ideal of educated and erudite conversation on literary and philosophical topics at the dinner table. Although the reality of many dinner parties in the cities of the Eastern Mediterranean may only have distantly approached that ideal, the principle of convivial conversation where the host and his guests engaged in mutual displays of their education and culture – in other words, their *paideia* – was an accepted and well-established one.[8] Art in the dining room – in the form of woven wall-hangings, or silver tableware, as much as floor mosaics or statues – could play a key role in stimulating the type of conversation that convention held to be desirable. In that case, the level of philosophical

[5] Levi 1947, 206.
[6] Levi 1947, 256.
[7] Balty 1995, 39–48.
[8] For a more detailed account of this, see Leader-Newby 2004, 123–71.

interpretation to which a mosaic was subjected depended on the dinners' cultural knowledge.

This brings us back to the issue of inscriptions, and the implications of their use on late antique mosaics, both to identify abstract personifications and more generally to label a whole range of mythological figures. This phenomenon is not a well-understood one. Surprisingly, Levi does not discuss the use of inscriptions *per se* in *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, and few more recent surveys of Roman mosaics have considered them.[9] However, those scholars who do discuss them are inclined to see them rather negatively as an example of late antique philistinism. Johannes Deckers, for example, discussing the House of Aion mosaic from Nea Paphos cannot understand

> why even the protagonists – familiar to any 4th century schoolchild – of representations which occur over and over again (such as the punishment of Marsyas or the amorous adventures of Zeus) should have to be explained by name labels.[10]

Although Deckers' comments were made in the context of justified criticisms of an overly esoteric interpretation of the House of Aion mosaic, they are echoed by the views of another German scholars, Wulf Raeck.[11] Raeck has claimed that late antiquity witnessed a decreasing familiarity with classical art's iconographic conventions and subject matter, which led to an increasing need for works of art to be 'explained', either by means of inscriptions or through allegories in the images themselves. Thus when four labelled personifications of Ktisis (Foundation), Ananeosis (Renewal), Dunamis (Strength) and Euandria (Courage) are found in close proximity to images of the four seasons on the mosaic from the so-called Constantinian Villa at Antioch, Raeck argues that their sole purpose is as an aid to understanding the significance of the seasons (a possibility that Levi had rejected in favour of an association with philosophical, possibly Stoic, ideas).[12] The late antique viewer, according to Raeck, required the clearly labelled personifications, with their literary/philosophical connections, to allow him to recognize the more traditional classical images of the seasons and 'correctly' understand them to represent the theme of a happy life through the renewing cycle of fruitful nature, just as the hunting scenes elsewhere on the mosaic depict one of the pursuits essential to such a life.

---

[9] There is no discussion of this issue in Dunbabin 1999, although Ling 1998, 56–7 and Kondoleon 2000, 64 both mention that inscriptions are a feature of East Greek mosaics in late antiquity, and Kondoleon briefly discusses some of the problems involved in understanding their function.

[10] Deckers 1986, 163 (my translation)

[11] Raeck 1992, esp. 139, 160 ff.

[12] Raeck 1992, 140–45.

I would not necessarily disagree with Raeck's overall interpretation of this mosaic's iconography, but I remain unconvinced by his claim that the name-labels applied to the personifications served to fix the meaning of the mosaic from the Constantinian Villa for viewers who had to use their literary knowledge to interpret elements of a visual language whose syntax they no longer understood. Although Raeck's theory is more sophisticated than Deckers', both rest on the assumption that the late antique viewers of these mosaics no longer understood fully the pictorial conventions of Classical art. Yet according to Raeck, at least, they were sufficiently well-acquainted with Classical literary culture that they could use it to help them interpret the world of visual culture from which they had become alienated. This would imply that verbal culture was more easily acquired in the late antique world than visual culture. But is there any evidence for this?

As far as I know, there are no studies of the acquisition of what one might call 'visual literacy' in late antiquity or any other period of the ancient world. Obviously it was not a skill that was taught formally, unlike the training in grammar and rhetorical composition that we know comprised the standard form of education for the late antique elite. And yet increasingly it is being realized that *paideia* (as an educational programme) was far more than the sum of its parts, and provided a training in more than the specific skills of literary composition and oratory.[13] It equipped the recipient in modes of social interaction by creating a shared body of knowledge and cultural assumptions among an elite that in late antiquity was drawn from a range of difference sources. Although it remains to be fully proven, it is arguable that *paideia* also provided implicit training in ways of looking at and interacting with art.[14] In this context, Raeck's theory seems highly questionable. Moreover, in addition to providing an unsatisfactory answer to the question of why inscriptions appear on the East Greek mosaics, Raeck's theory implicitly suggests that visual culture of late antiquity was in decline, which is not only unhelpful as a concept, but scarcely does justice to the sophistication of some of the mosaics which he discusses.

It is clear that we need to rethink the whole question, and look for alternative ways of explaining the late antique mosaicists' fondness for inscriptions. We might begin by asking whether there are other areas of ancient culture where the convention of labelling figures could have come from. Two possibilities are worth considering: theatrical performances and public processions. We know many myths were acted as 'spectacles', both in the theatre in the form of mime and pantomime, and as subsidiary

[13] See for example Kaster 1988 and Morgan 1998.
[14] Leader-Newby 2004.

entertainment in the amphitheatre and circus.[15] The central scene of the House of Aion mosaic from Nea Paphos (fig. 16.6), which shows a beauty contest between the legendary queen Cassiopeia and the Nereids, presents its subject in a manner which is reminiscent of civic contests in the sports and arts. On the left-hand side, the victorious Cassiopeia is presented with a jewelled wreath (not dissimilar to that worn by Soteria in Antioch) by a figure who resembles Nike iconographically but may have been labelled Krisis (Judgement). A young boy, labelled either Kairos (the crucial moment) or Kleros (the voting lot) holds up the winning pebble from an urn in the foreground, while the figure of Aion presides over the ceremony. A narrow table with further wreaths is visible behind these figures. A similar composition is found in another mosaic of the same subject from Apamea, though there are some differences in the labelling (Poseidon presides, and Krisis and Nike are shown as two separate figures).[16] The theatricality of the Nea Paphos mosaic seems to suggest that it could have been influenced by some sort of public performance. The dramatization of a mythological beauty contest, one imagines, would have also appealed to the less literary inhabitants of the cities of the Eastern Mediterranean (especially if one remembers the heavy criticism that bishops such as John Chrysostom in Antioch meted out to those attending theatrical performances). However, it also seems possible that some of the allegorical tableaux mentioned above, such as Aion and the Chronoi, or Euteknia, Philosophia and Dikaiosyne could have been inspired by some sort of tableaux vivants conceived on a more intellectual level. Could figures in such performances or tableaux have been identified by placards or banners, which the inscriptions are trying to replicate, or were they announced by name, in which case the inscriptions represent a substitute for speech?

Public processions, another source of ancient visual spectacle, are also worth thinking about in this context. When the twenty-nine silver processional statues that C. Vibius Salutarius had dedicated to Artemis of Ephesus in 104 AD were paraded annually through the streets of that city, was any type of verbal identification provided in the form of placards? The statues represented not only the goddess herself, but also Roman emperors, personifications of the Roman state and the city council of Ephesus, the Hellenistic king Lysimachus, and legendary founders of Ephesus. As Guy Rogers has argued, collectively these statues and their public display in procession constituted an important statement of Ephesus' civic and

[15] See Coleman 1990; Kondoleon 1991, 105–15; Bergmann and Kondoleon 1999, especially the articles by J. D'Arms and Kondoleon which deal with the relationship between public spectacle and its representation in the domestic sphere.

[16] Balty 1977

religious identity as a city within the Roman empire.[17] In this case, it must surely have been important to make sure that the spectators of the procession were aware of the identity of the individual figures. Obviously such claims are hard to substantiate, and few ancient processions are as well-documented as that endowed by Vibius Salutarius. Yet it is important to remember that, just as literary culture in the Roman empire did not consist solely of the private reading of books, but encompassed public recitations of prose and poetry, various forms of oratory, and dramatic performances, ancient visual culture comprised its fair share of ephemeral elements, such as those mentioned above, and did not consist solely of static works of art. More importantly, if we accept that, for example, the practice of public declamation must have played an important role in shaping the oeuvre of a late antique sophist such as Libanius, even though he also made sure that his speeches were transcribed and revised for posterity, we should not posit a complete separation between ephemeral and more permanent manifestation of visual culture – a relationship of mutual influence seems far more likely.

As regards the mosaic inscriptions, however, it remains the case that while theatrical performances and processions had been a feature of ancient civic life since the Classical period, the use of inscriptions on mosaics is a feature of the third century AD onwards. Are we to assume that this coincided with an increased use of labelling in performances, or are there other reasons why an idiom from this aspect of ancient visual culture found its way into mosaics at this time? In the last section of this paper, I shall explore ways in which the use of labels might reflect late antique mentalities, and why the depiction of abstract personifications also appealed to these same mentalities.

In addition to those mosaics which employ labels for their figures, there are a handful of mosaics from the Greek East which feature more extensive inscriptions. Perhaps the most interesting example is from a late Roman villa in Halicarnassos, dated to the mid- or later half of the fifth century AD.[18] This extensive building, still only partially excavated, contained a large, almost square, apsed room, dubbed room F by its excavators (fig. 16.9). Although from an artistic point of view its mosaic decoration, which comprised a series of roundels with hunting scenes, and the four seasons labelled with their names, is rather less sophisticated than that of the same period at Antioch, the room features two inscriptions of some length.[19] The first, in one of the roundels of the main body of the room, is too badly damaged to be properly legible, although it possibly refers to a husband, wife and children (one is tempted to suppose these might be the owner of the

[17] Rogers 1991.
[18] Poulsen 1995; Poulsen 1997.
[19] Isager 1995; Isager 1997.

house and his family). The second, which is complete, is written in elegiacs, and located in a tabula ansata on the edge of the main floor nearest the apse, so that it would be readable by someone facing the apse. The text is as follows:

> Come hither and nod your approval
> without delay with your bright shining eyes. I present a
> multiform body of stones laid in mosaics, a body which skilful men
> in spreading the floor made shine all over,
> so that the richly wrought appearance of the high-roofed building
> shall make this city renowned in many places.
> What before was in a miserable state Charidemos raised
> from the ground with toil and enormous expense.[20]

Essentially it commemorates the laying of the floor (and possibly the building or restoration of the villa), but it is written in the elaborate poetic language which was much favoured in late antiquity for public honorific inscriptions, as well as private ones such as this. One of its closest parallels is a stone inscription in hexameters from Aphrodisias that commemorates the contribution of a certain Ampelius to restoring the Agora Gate there and turning it into a fountain.[21] In this context it is worth bearing in mind certain comments made by Charlotte Roueché regarding the change from prose to verse in late antique honorific inscriptions, and the use of elaborate literary language, which tells us little about what the person being honoured actually did or was.[22] She has suggested that this can be seen to mark a change in the object of erecting such inscriptions, whereby the aim was no longer to convey information about an individual's rank and achievements, but to emphasize the literary culture of those on both sides of the transaction.[23] Her observation can usefully be transferred back to the Halicarnassos mosaic, bearing in mind what I said earlier about the dining room as an arena for the display of *paideia* between the host and his guests. Although room F's apsidal shape is typical of late antique dining rooms, Simon Ellis has argued that its location in the house rather suggests a function as an audience chamber.[24] In any case, the presence of an inscription which praised the owner of the villa for his magnanimity in beautifying the city with such a house, suggests that it must have been an important public room. But it is not just the act of building or decorating itself that is emphasized – the

[20] The translation is taken from Isager 1997, 25. I do not, however, agree with the view expressed in Isager 1995 and Isager 1997 that the epigram was directly inspired by the poetry of Nonnos, or that linguistic similarities between this inscription and his poetry indicate a pagan religious identity on the part of the house's owner.

[21] Roueché 1989, no. 38, 68–71.

[22] Roueché 1997.

[23] Roueché 1997, 365.

[24] Ellis 1997, 44–5.

choice of the language and the verse form marks out Charidemos as a man of *paideia*, while the ability of the inscription's readers (or hearers) to appreciate this confirms their status within the hierarchy of *paideia* as well.

What we might cautiously extrapolate from this is that the use of inscriptions of all kinds – from simple labels to elaborate verses – in late antique mosaics corresponds to an increased need to display *paideia*, to inscribe it into the visual sphere, rather than leaving it ephemeral and spoken. Whether this is due to the third-century upheavals in the structure of Graeco-Roman elite society cannot be fully explored in this paper. Certainly Robert Kaster has argued that the grammarian's training, which was the foundation of *paideia*, served an important role at the beginning of late antiquity in reidentifying the elite after the 'loosening' of the structures of upper-class society in the third century.[25] I do not want to press this point too strongly, however; rather, I would like explore the situation further, and see if there is a connection to be made between the use of abstract personifications and the display of *paideia* in the visual sphere.

The personification of Ktisis is one of the most frequently occurring abstractions at Antioch in late antiquity: she appears in mosaics in the Constantinian Villa, the House of Ge and the Seasons, the House of the Sea Goddess, and the House of Ktisis itself (figs 16.7, 10). Although in the Constantinian Villa and the House of the Sea Goddess she is combined to form the quartet of personifications Ktisis, Ananeosis, Euandria and Dunamis, to which I have already referred, in other instances she appears alone. In the Constantinian Villa, the House of the Sea Goddess and the House of Ktisis, she is shown carrying a thin vertical rod, which can be identified as a measuring rod for building. She is also shown carrying this attribute (itself an unusual feature for an abstract personification of this period) in a fourth- or fifth-century mosaic from Kourion in Cyprus. The noun Ktisis can mean either 'foundation' or 'acquisition' (from the verbs *ktizdo* and *ktaomai* respectively).[26] As in the case of the verse inscription from Halicarnassos, there are interesting parallels with honorific inscriptions, in which *ktistes*, or founder, is a standard term of praise for someone involved in building activities. It is used, for example, for Dulcitius, another of the benefactors of the Agora Gate in Aphrodisias.[27] A late antique mosaic inscription in a bath building, possibly connected to the governor's palace in Caesarea Maritima in Palestine, expresses the wish that 'the years of the

[25] Kaster 1988, 29.

[26] Levi 1947, 253–6.

[27] Roueché 1989, 71, no 40: 'Stranger, sing of Dulcitius, the governor, giver of games and founder (*ktistes*) and lover of honour and Maioumarch, who, stretching out his strong hand, raised me too, who had suffered for unnumbered years.' Roueché 1998, 33 notes that Menander Rhetor cites the encouragement of city development as one of the virtues of a governor that the orator should praise (Menander Rhetor 416.5–10).

most glorious proconsul Andreas, devoted to building (*philoktistos*) be many'.[28] And indeed the Halicarnassos inscription, while not using the word itself, nevertheless reinforces the idea that the act of using one's wealth for building continued to be highly thought of in late antiquity. In this context, one might argue that the primary sense of Ktisis in the Antioch mosaics was that of a personification of the act of foundation, which was one of the ways in which the late antique elite of cities such as Antioch and Aphrodisias displayed their position in the civic community. The meaning of acquisition must have been a secondary one, albeit as a necessary prerequisite to building. Why, however, does this concept appear as an abstract personification? It is here, I think, that we can usefully invoke *paideia*: Ktisis does not commemorate an individual patron's act of building, but represents the act of foundation personified. And since, in being a *philoktistos*, an individual did not simply erect buildings, but performed a social act which visibly reinforced his status in the community as a member of the elite, at the same time as it bolstered that community's self-image, the image of Ktisis could be said to carry the weight of this complex network of social exchange and display. To represent Ktisis on one's floor did not so much commemorate a patron's actual or potential acts of euergetism. Rather it subsumed that euergetism into the culture of *paideia* that operated in the sphere of the public rooms of the patron's house, and acted as a sign that he recognized and understood the values at stake in the act of foundation. Just as the use of literary language in commemorative inscriptions served as a recognition on the part of both dedicators and dedicatee of their common cultural knowledge which bound them together as members of a single elite class, the use of the abstract personification added *paideia* to the values at stake in the act of foundation.

In conclusion, I would say that abstract personifications can be seen as expressions of moral, ethical and sometimes even philosophical concepts integral to *paideia*. Glanville Downey was in many ways correct when he defined the meaning of the abstract personifications at Antioch as a moral or ethical one,[29] but rather than seeing this as he did, as evidence of late antiquity's break with the forms of traditional Greek culture, I would argue that by viewing these ethical values in the context of *paideia*, which was predicated on concepts of tradition and traditionalism, we are actually seeing a late antique Renewal (or Ananeosis) of what it perceived as the age-old values of Greek culture.

[28] Holum 1995, 335; Lehmann and Holum 2000, 65, no. 39, pls. XXXII and XXXIII; Lavan 1999, 154.

[29] Downey 1938.

Fig 16.1 Mosaic of Soteria, Baths of Apolausis, Antioch.

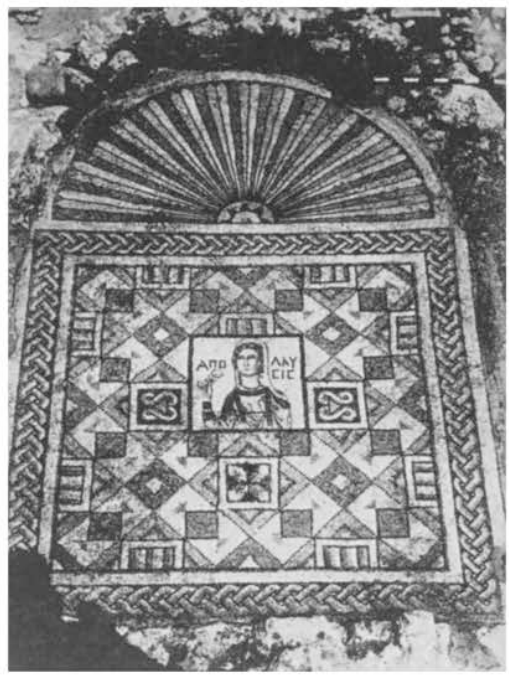


Fig. 16. 2 Mosaic of Apolausis, Baths of Apolausis, Antioch.

Fig 16.3 Megalopsychia Mosaic, from the Yakto Complex, Upper Level, Antioch.

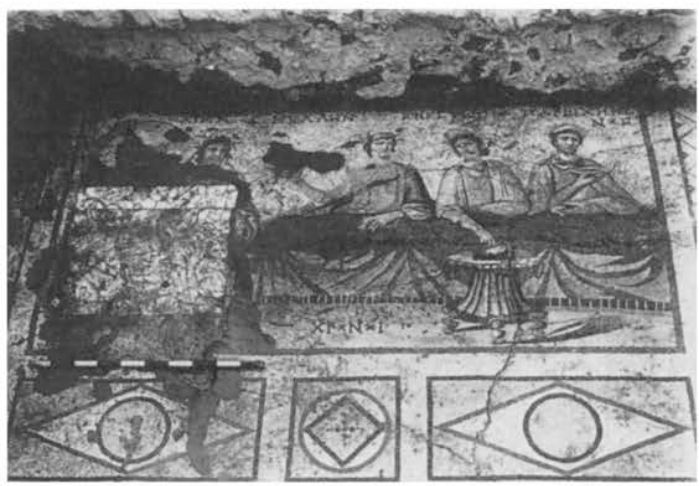


Fig. 16.4 Mosaic of Aion and the Chronoi, from Antioch.

Fig. 16.5 Mosaic of Euteknia, Philosophia and Dikaiosyne, Shahba-Philoppolis, Syria.

Fig. 16.6 Triclinium Mosaic, House of Aion, Nea Paphos, Cyprus.

Fig. 16.7 Mosaic of Ktisis, House of Ge and the Seasons, Antioch.

Fig. 16.8 Mosaic of Ananeosis, Antioch.

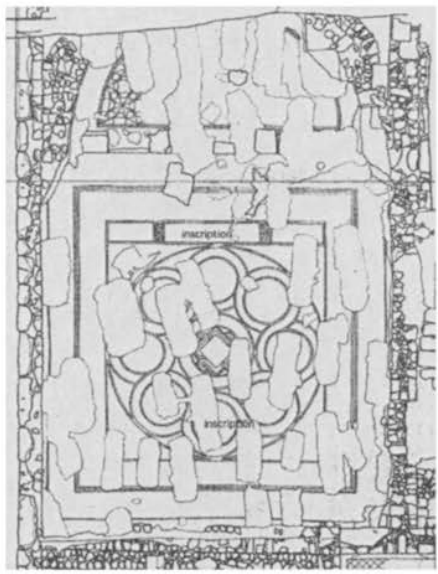


Fig. 16.9 Plan of Room F in the Late Roman Villa, Halicarnassos, showing location of inscriptions.

Fig. 16.10 Mosaic of Ktisis, House of Ktisis, Antioch.

17

Rivers of Roman Antioch

Janet Huskinson

Place and identity are concepts often so closely linked that one may usefully be explored in terms of the other. This approach has been taken in many recent studies of modern societies, particularly where cultural difference is examined in the wider context of globalization. These have looked, for instance, at the role of place in fostering a sense of 'cultural belonging' in communities, and at how 'identities are shaped by embodied and embedded narratives located in particular places and times'.[1]

The aim of this paper is to apply this approach to the city of Antioch on the Orontes, investigating aspects of its cultural identity in the Roman empire through some specific images of place – of rivers – that occur in its floor mosaics. Founded by Seleucus in the late fourth century BC Antioch became a major centre of Hellenistic culture, and remained famous for its intellectual life and traditions of Greek learning well into the Roman empire: the orator Libanius, in the eulogy of his native city given in AD 356 (*Antiochikos* 184–6) extols it as rival to Athens in that respect.[2] Under the Romans it became an important administrative centre, as capital of the province of Syria from 64 BC, *colonia* from the early third century AD, and frequent imperial residence. Because of its strategic position in relation to the eastern frontier of the empire, Antioch had an important role in Roman military and commercial expansion in the east, with a large military presence, particularly during the third century AD campaigns against Persia. It was also a regional centre for its Syrian hinterland and home to various diasporan communities who, according to Libanius (*Antiochikos* 166) were attracted to it from 'every city in the world'. In short, Roman Antioch was a

[1] Carter, Donald and Squires 1993, x. Cf also Harvey 1989; Duncan 1993; Morley and Robins 1993. For discussion of how generally modern geographical theory can inform classical studies: Clarke 1999, 1–76.

[2] For the history of Antioch and its population see Downey 1961; Maas 2000. For views of Syrian and Greek elements: Millar 1993, 259; Ball 2000, especially 153–5. Antioch also had a substantial Jewish population: see Brooten 2000.

From *Personification In The Greek World: From Antiquity To Byzantium*, eds Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Copyright © 2005 by Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Published by Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, UK.

multicultural place, involving people and customs from many different backgrounds, elite and non-elite, local and immigrant.

Intersecting, as it were, with these various elements in its population are the different sources of historical evidence which survive for the cultural life of Roman Antioch. These are inevitably selective in what they can reveal, primarily because they privilege media which were elite and Graeco-Roman in tradition and context: thus little is shown of local Syrian life or that of the urban poor. The written sources, which exist in abundance particularly for the fourth and fifth centuries AD, give some of the more extensive insights into the city's cultural life. It was clearly lively and prosperous, and engaged with all kinds of cultural issues, from the innumerable mimes and pantomimes mentioned by the emperor Julian as characteristic (*Misopogon* 342A and B), to the debate between pagan and Christian ideals articulated in the works of Libanius and another native of the city, the bishop John Chrysostom. Of the material sources of evidence for the culture of Antioch, the floor mosaics are perhaps the richest. Whereas the excavation of buildings in the city and its environs has proved notoriously frustrating, these pavements survive in a long sequence from the late first to the sixth century AD, and show the important part played by mosaics in the decoration of Antioch's houses. They were published by Doro Levi in 1947, soon after their discovery.[3] His analysis concentrated on their artistic style and iconography, which were heavily dependent on Hellenistic pictorial traditions (at least until the fourth century), but as recent studies of mosaics have shown, the subject matter of domestic mosaics can suggest a good deal about the cultural allegiances of their patrons.[4] The choice of scenes and motifs reveals the cultural traditions to which the households 'belong' (even if only in their aspirations), as is exemplified across the empire in countless mosaics where Muses testify to the patron's learning, or arena combats to his *romanitas*. Turning back to the mosaics that are the subject of this paper, we can therefore expect the choice of personifications to reflect a similar connection with the interests of contemporary Antiochenes, or, put more specifically, that the places they personify may in some way also represent the cultural places to which these households 'belong'.

The river personifications in these mosaics make effective subjects for this kind of enquiry, because they form a discrete group of five examples surviving across nearly three centuries, and because rivers themselves are potent indicators of place. They link or divide communities, and have the power to confer or deny prosperity through their life-giving waters. This was of particular importance in the ancient world and was one reason for their

[3] Levi 1947.

[4] For mosaics and interior decoration of Antioch houses as 'cultural statements' see e.g. Kondoleon 2000 and Hales 2003.

personification. In archaic Greece rivers had often been identified with local gods and heroes and the stories that were told of them remained the basis of many mythological representations throughout antiquity.[5] From the Hellenistic period on, cities in the Greek East used personifications of local rivers on coins and public monuments, to symbolize their own identity, and the practice continued into the Roman period, especially on local civic coinage, as a way of promoting the city's own identity within the much wider context of the Roman empire.[6] However, the use of river personifications in contexts of contested identity or power was not confined to the Greek East. They had been regularly used in Roman triumphal imagery to represent locations of Roman victories, or conquered territories, in roles that became typical for the many personifications which were pressed into celebration of the empire's conquests and its peace.[7]

In Antioch itself rivers and springs played an important part both in daily life and in the city's self-definition. This was captured in the abiding image of the city, the 'Tyche of Antioch'; created by Eutychides soon after the city's foundation, this statuary group inspired the use of similar figures to represent other Hellenistic cities, as well as many later Roman versions.[8] By showing the tutelary goddess, the Tyche, seated on a rock (signifying Mount Silpius) and resting a foot on a young river god swimming below, it represented not only the distinctive topographical features of the city, but also the close relationship between community and river. Antioch was also renowned for the many springs which watered the area, and those at Daphne were particularly famed for their beauty. In his eulogy Libanius (*Antiochikos* 240–41) exalted them, as it were, to imperial status, calling them 'palaces of the Nymphs' where Nymphs, 'like emperors', have their capital. His repeated references in this speech to water and the blessings it bestowed so distinctively on the city, show just how much it was part of the identity which Roman Antioch presented to the wider world.[9] In private houses too,

[5] Ostrowski 1991, 8–11. Cf. also Robert 1980, e.g. 176 re mythological allusions on local coinage of the Roman period of the river Parthenios in Bithynia.

[6] Roman examples: e.g. *LIMC* IV.1 (1988), 72 no. 25 (Euphrates); *LIMC* VII.1 (1994), 665 nos 2–9 (Sangarios). The practice became so commonplace that some Greek rivers which had not been personified in art before acquired their first visual image during the Roman empire: Ostrowski 1991, 33–4.

[7] Ostrowski 1991, 33–34, 48; cf. also Toynbee 1934 for other personifications. For rivers in triumphs: e.g. Ovid, *Art of Love* I, 220–4; and Tacitus, *Annals* 2.41. Imperial monuments: e.g. Ostrowski 1991, 50, figs 49 and 49 a (Arch of Titus, Rome); 55–6, figs 1 and 55 (the Parthian monument from Ephesus); 57, fig. 58 (Arch of Septimius Severus at Rome). Coins and medals: e.g. *LIMC* IV.1 (1988), 72 no. 23; and Ostrowski 1991, 57–8.

[8] Downey 1961, 73–5; Kondoleon 2000, 116–120 (Frontispiece). For 'Tyche' on coinage: Metcalf 2000, 107.

[9] Libanius, *Antiochikos* 240–41. Note too his use of fluvial imagery in the speech e.g. to conjure up the 'flow' of pedestrian traffic (172), of military forces amassed in face of Persian

the wealthy inhabitants of the city and nearby Daphne and Seleucia used water and aquatic themes to articulate and decorate the domestic space. Courtyards with pools and fountains were popular features, and subjects such as fish and water-gods were frequently depicted in their floor mosaics.[10]

Like most other motifs in Antioch mosaic pavements, the river personifications belong to a repertory used across the Eastern Mediterranean area since Hellenistic times.[11] They use traditional representations, depicting the rivers in generic human form, as busts, or as swimming or reclining figures equipped with overturned urns and crowns of reed or water weed.[12] But unlike the majority of rivers personified in ancient art, the examples from Antioch are each identified by names inscribed in the mosaics. Because of the contemporary fashion found in mosaics in the eastern empire for labelling figures with their names (cf. Leader-Newby, *infra*), these highly generic images are all identified as specific rivers.[13] This opens up the opportunity to look at them, separately and together, to consider the cultural geographies they help to construct through their various allusions, and then to see how these may mapped back on to the culture of Antioch itself.

House of Cilicia at Seleucia (fig. 17.1)

The earliest example is dated to the latter half of the second century AD and decorated a dining room (Room One) in the so-called House of Cilicia in Seleucia.[14] Although only half the pavement survives, its arrangement is typical of Antiochene *triclinia* with a central figured scene (for diners to view from their couches) surrounded on three sides by a border of a geometric 'coffering' pattern. At each corner of this was a square panel, which had stylized plants in the spandrels and an elaborately framed roundel containing the bust of a river personification facing diagonally outwards. Two such roundels survive, in which the personifications are shown nude apart from mantles across their shoulders and crowns of weed on their hair. They are

attack (178), and in an elaborate simile which also brought in streams and canals, to evoke Antioch's street pattern (201). Cf also note 52 below re his reference to Alpheios.

[10] For aquatic themes in Antiochene mosaics: Kondoleon 2000, 71–4.

[11] E.g. Balty 1981, 427.

[12] For river personifications in general: *LIMC* IV.1 (1988), 139–41; for the occasional zoomorphic example in archaic art: Ostrowski 1991,14.

[13] Inscriptions: Balty 1981, 367, n.114.

[14] Stillwell 1941, 213–14, no. 177, pls 88–9; Levi 1947, 57–9, fig. 21, pl. IX b–d. For dating: Levi 1947, 625; cf. Kondoleon 2000, 152. The pavement was split up: the Kilikia panel is now in Norman University of Oklahoma [M126,A]; the Tigris panel in Detroit Institute of Arts [40.127]; and Pyramos in Smith College Museum of Art [1938.14. cf. Kondoleon 2000, 152 no. 38].

distinguished by inscription as Tigris, who has shaggy hair and a beard, and a more youthful Pyramos, who is beardless.

The central panel of the mosaic had been damaged in antiquity by the insertion of a pool, and by the time of excavation the left-hand side was also largely lost. The fragments of the original scene show two women in what seems to have been rather an empty landscape. The scant remains of the left-hand figure suggest that she was reclining on the ground, holding a *cornucopia* in her left hand. The figure on the right, half-turned to face the centre, is identified by inscription as a personification of Kilikia. She sits on rocks in front of a pillar and tree, and holds what may be a fan in her right hand, lifting her left hand to her face. She wears a mural crown, pearl earrings, and heavy mantle enveloping most of her body. As Levi (1947, 58–9) observes, she resembles the 'Tyche of Antioch', but without the swimming figure of the river Orontes.

As the Pyramos was one of the major rivers of Kilikia there is a demonstrable link between the personifications at the corners and those in the centre, and this should make it possible to suggest the identity of the figures which are lost. Further Kilikian rivers, such as the Kydnos, Saros or Kalykadnos, have been proposed for the third corner panel.[15] As for the second territorial personification, Mesopotamia seems most likely since the presence of the Tigris would argue for the Euphrates being one of the lost rivers.[16] It has also been suggested that the fragmentary figure surviving on the left is in fact Syria, who reclines between Kilikia and a third figure of Mesopotamia, now lost from the very far left of the panel: if so, the two missing rivers would be the Euphrates and the Orontes.[17]

Both the Pyramos and Tigris had been depicted on local coinage before the Roman empire, along with the Tychai of cities situated on their banks.[18] But here the context has changed to an imperial world in which larger territories and rivers are linked together to celebrate the extent of empire or even specific events within it.[19] Coins of Trajan had grouped together river gods and a female territorial personification to commemorate his original annexation of the area, while Hadrian recorded his visit to Kilikia in AD 129

[15] Stillwell 1941, 213 and Levi 1947, 59, fig. 22.

[16] Levi 1947, 58.

[17] By Balty in *LIMC* VI.1 (1992), 557 n.2. Cf ibid., no. 3, the mosaic from Mas 'udije, Syria, dated to AD 228/9, which showed Euphrates between two female personifications taken to be Syria and Mesopotamia. Ostrowski (1990, 203–4) notes the rarity of Syria and suggests that this might be partly due to the powerful artistic influence of the 'Tyche of Antioch'.

[18] The Pyramos was regularly personified on coins of local cities from the first century BC on: *LIMC* VII.1 (1994), 605–06. For the Tigris on coins of Seleucia in the first century BC: *LIMC* VIII.1 (1997), 28 no. 3.

[19] Cf. entries in *LIMC* which show that the great majority of personifications of these rivers are of imperial date.

with coins showing the personified province, in this case equipped with helmet and standard.[20] During the later second century AD emperors frequently stayed at Antioch in the course of campaigns on the eastern frontier, and it would not be surprising to find that some of the expansionist themes of imperial imagery had filtered through into the decoration of private houses (though even so, the territorial personifications in the mosaic are more likely to represent regions and their communities than official provinces).[21]

House of Porticoes at Seleucia (fig. 17.2)

The second pavement to be considered is from the so-called House of Porticoes at Seleucia.[22] This building, which Levi dated to the late second or early third century, survived as a series of porticoes set around two large courtyards with pools. This particular pavement decorated a portico (the 'Portico of the Rivers') on the west side of Complex 2. Set within a continuous border it comprised a strip of geometric panels alternating with four squares which each contained the personification of a river. As in the House of Cilicia these are shown as generic busts identified by inscription above their heads as Alpheios, Arethousa, Thisbe and Pyramos. Each is nude, with thick hair (shoulder length for the women) and a crown of weeds.

In geographical terms these rivers were far apart: Pyramos was (as already stated) a major river in Kilikia, Alpheios a river in the western Peloponnese, and Arethousa a spring in Syracuse in Sicily, while Thisbe remains unidentified.[23] Mythology, however, linked them together since Alpheios and Arethousa, Pyramos and Thisbe were famous as pairs of lovers. The stories about them were ancient and various: Alpheios, according to some traditions, was a young hunter who had fallen in love at Elis with the nymph Arethousa. To escape him she turned into a spring, while he pursued her to Sicily as a river, his waters remaining unmingled with the sea.[24] Their story was rarely depicted in Roman art, and the only other surviving example is a

[20] Trajan: *LIMC* VIII.1 (1997), 28 cf. nos 3 and 4. Hadrian: Toynbee 1934, 69 and *LIMC* VI.1 (1992), 45–6.

[21] For emperors in Antioch at this time: Downey 1961, 225–35; and Millar, 1993, 117. Cf. Ostrowski 1990, 19–21: personifications of 'provinces' do not always represent the administrative unit but rather people. This ties in with the observation by Millar (1993, 118) that people were more likely to have derived their ethnic identity from their community rather than their province. For the importance of Kilikia as hinterland to Antioch: Ball 2000, 236.

[22] Stillwell 1941, 213, no. 176, pl. 86; Levi 1947, 109–10, fig. 42; pl. XVIII a–d Antakya, Hatay Archaeological Museum 997–1002. *LIMC* I.1 (1981), 576, no. 1; II.1 (1984), 583 no. 5; and VII.1 (1994), 605 no. 2.

[23] Duke 1970, 321: rivers in Cyprus and Kilikia have been suggested.

[24] *LIMC* I.1 (1981), 576 for literary sources. See especially Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 5.572–641 and Pausanias 5.7.2. Particularly relevant to our mosaic in terms of place, time, and probable general level on which the myth was known is Lucian, *Dialogues of Sea-gods* 3.

(now fragmentary) mosaic from Alexandria.[25] By contrast the visual history of Pyramos and Thisbe is more extensive, although they appear in Pompeian frescoes and in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as two young human lovers, whose secret meeting ends in tragedy.[26] Their representation here as rivers and springs seems to relate to an older Greek tradition that resurfaces in late antiquity in mosaics from Syria and Cyprus, and also in the fifth century poem, the *Dionysiaka* of Nonnus.[27] One passage of this (*Dionysiaka* 6, 346–55) links both couples, by recounting how Alpheios and Pyramos were separated from their lovers in the great flood sent by Zeus to engulf the world, while elsewhere Pyramos and Thisbe are described as rivers destined to flow together as in mutual desire (*Dionysiaka* 12, 84–5).

This mosaic, then, presents the four rivers as pairs of lovers. In this they reflect a Greek mythological tradition of the metamorphosis of lovers into streams and evoke stories of love lost and rediscovered.

Their appearance at this site may be explained in terms of the function of the complex. From the layout of porticoes Levi (1947,116) concluded that it had probably served 'as a gymnasium or *palestra*'. Few fragments survive of the figured scenes in other porticoes, but it is still possible to identify in them a series of episodes from the life of Achilles, scenes of *palestra* activities, and busts of famous athletes.[28] Thus the river personifications can be seen in a particular cultural context, for in a gymnasium the youth of the city would be trained not only for physical contest, but also in music, poetry and rhetoric. Just as scenes in the other porticoes illustrated athletic activities, and role models, human or mythological, for the young men to follow, so these river personifications provided images of youthful, romantic love from the repertory of Hellenic legend.

The House of Menander at Daphne (fig. 17.3)

The third mosaic comes from the House of Menander which was one of the largest houses discovered in Daphne, with many figured pavements.[29] Levi dated these to the second half of the third century, but the house itself seems to have been remodelled during its long period of occupation and its

[25] Levi 1947,110; *LIMC* I.1 (1981), 577 no. 6 (and cf. possibly also no. 14).

[26] *LIMC* VII.1 (1994), 606 nos 19–22; cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4.55–166.

[27] Duke 1970, 320-1; NB Duke adds the reminder that there may also have been a non-Greek version of the story known in Kilikia. For a discussion of this whole question and relevant art works, including a mosaic from Ghallineh (also in Syria), and from Nea Paphos in Cyprus, Kondoleon 1995, 148–56; and *LIMC* VII.1 (1994), 606–07.

[28] Levi 1947, 105–16, pl. XVII–XIX.

[29] Levi 1947, 204–05; pl. XLVI c. Antakya, Hatay Archaeological Museum no. 1015. For other mosaics in the house: Levi 1947, 198–216; pls XLIV–XLVII. Cf. Dobbins 2000, 50.

architectural history is not entirely clear.[30] Although in this case the river personifications appear in a small, subsidiary panel of the largest floor mosaic in the house, they can be shown to have an immediate relevance to their 'real' location at Daphne.

As a *triclinium* Room 13 was decorated with panels of figured scenes which provided a focal point for the diners to gaze down on from their couches. The main panel depicted famous romantic encounters (Eros and Psyche, Leda and the Swan, and, most probably, Paris and Oenone), and adjacent to this was a strip of four much smaller panels. The subjects of these seem rather disparate: a personification of Tryphe, a rustic scene, an imitation of a coffered ceiling in which is set a woman's head, and second from the left, the scene to be discussed here, a pair of river personifications reclining in a rather schematic landscape. On the left is a bearded man inscribed as Ladon, and on the right a young woman, Psalis. Both are generic figures, semi-nude and with typical fluvial attributes.[31] He wears a wreath of weed and holds a *cornucopia*-type vessel with a fountain of water, while she leans on an overturned urn, from which flows a stream. The contrast between them in age and gender is well-conveyed in the forms and skin-tones of their bodies.

Their topographical references are not immediately obvious. Psalis is unknown as a name of a river in the Greek world, but is the Greek word for a conduit or a whirling movement, so the figure may be meant to personify one of the many local waterways cut to prevent flooding, or perhaps even the gushing flow of the river Ladon. Ladon was a famous river in Arcadia in Greece, but also a small river near Daphne, named after Ladon who according to local myth was the father of the nymph Daphne.[32] It was by the side of this river Ladon that Daphne was supposedly pursued by Apollo; and as this event is also depicted in the House of Menander, in the mosaic pavement of a portico nearby, the figure in this panel is most likely to be a personification of the local stream.[33]

If so, it is a clear reminder of the location of the house in Daphne. It expresses the householder's pride in his locality, its myths and its famous springs, and claims for the domestic space something of Daphne's significance as a site sacred to Apollo. In their reclining poses Ladon and Psalis strikingly resemble the personifications of Bios and Tryphe shown in

[30] Dobbins 2000, 57. A recent study has suggested that the building can be seen in terms of 'three dining suites and one possible living area'.

[31] Apart from the inscriptions this is a highly formulaic composition: compare, e.g., the mosaic from St Romain-en-Gal.

[32] See Levi 1947, 205; and Kondoleon 1995, 170–74 for discussion of literary sources that support the local version with Ladon as father of Daphne. There was another river Ladon in Bithynia: Robert 1980, 183–90.

[33] Portico 16: Levi 1947, 211–41; pl. XLVII a and b.

separate panels in a corridor of the House of the Drunken Dionysus, a similarity which is made meaningful by the proximity of the Tryphe panel here in Room 13 of the House of Menander.[34] In the corridor the pair may have welcomed diners, cups in hand, to the adjacent *triclinium*, promising life and luxury; so perhaps these river personifications also promised cool refreshment and good-living to the diners here.

Bath E at Antioch (fig. 17.4)

The fourth example dates to the first half of the fourth century. In this case the setting is not a house, but a set of baths, Bath E at Antioch, where the pavement of the main hall (room 2) was decorated with lavish figured scenes. Little remains, but they originally comprised a long narrow figured panel at the centre flanked by four smaller rectangular scenes and four square corner panels, separated by geometric designs.[35]

Of the corner panels only one survives, and this contains personifications of the river Eurotas and the region of Lakedemonia through which it flowed.[36] Once again they are shown as generic busts identified by inscriptions above their heads. Both are turned slightly to face the centre. Eurotas, on the left, is male, nude apart from a mantle over his left shoulder and has reeds in his hair. A little behind him is Lakedemonia, who is shown as a woman, fully dressed in tunic and mantle and with long hair falling to her shoulders from an elaborate top-knot.

Despite the loss of the other corner panels, the thematic context of this group can be gauged from the figured scenes that survive. Most important for this is the central scene (of which roughly half remains). Here Ge is shown reclining amidst putti (inscribed as Karpoi, 'fruits') and Aroura ('arable land') and various other images of fertility. Her couch is in the form of a sphinx, and on the right of the fragmentary scene is part of a figure, wearing an elephant-scalp headdress, who presumably personifies Egypt.[37] These elements suggest that this image of earth's natural abundance is set in the lands fertilized by the waters of the Nile (although the river does not actually appear in the surviving fragment). In the four panels flanking this scene, water again provides a context, as Nereids and Tritons, named by inscription, bear trays of what may be gifts and play music.

Since the abundance and enjoyment which water brings is such a strong theme in this central part of the pavement, it may have been repeated in the

[34] Levi 1947, 223–4, pl. LI a and b. NB apparent differences in date between the *triclinium* and the corridor.

[35] For mosaics in this room: Levi 1947, 263–73. Campbell 1988, 7–9.

[36] Levi 1947, 272–3; pl. LXIII d; Campbell 1988, 8, pl. 12. Antakya, Hatay Archaeological Museum no. 826.

[37] Levi 1947, 265–9. Only the last letter remains of the inscription attached to the figure.

other corner panels, through further personifications of rivers and the territories they water.[38] But if so, no clues survive in this mosaic (unlike the pavement in the House of Cilicia) which could suggest what they might have been.

The border of the 'Megalopsychia' pavement, Yakto (fig. 17.5)

The final example dates from a century later, in the mid-fifth century. It comprises personifications of local springs depicted in the topographical border of a pavement from a large residential building at Yakto near Daphne, which is known as the 'Megalopsychia' pavement from the personification at the centre of the main panel (cf. Leader-Newby *infra* pp. 201–02, fig. 16.3).[39] Its date has been established by reference to some of the buildings named in the border, from contemporary Daphne and Antioch.[40]

Just inside the upper right corner of the fully preserved side of the border is the figure of a small female river personification, in typical reclining pose.[41] From her inverted urn water flows into two buildings below, a horseshoe-shaped *nymphaeum* with arcades on the left, and a rectangular tank-like structure to the right, in which a swimming figure can be seen. The personification is flanked by the inscriptions, *Kastalia* and *Pallas*, names of two of Daphne's famous springs.

The buildings depicted here seem to have some historical reality as they can be related to the work done by Hadrian to convert the numerous local springs into a water-supply for the city and its various suburbs.[42] According to Wilber's survey of the modern topography of the plateau of Daphne and its springs, the main spring in the area was probably known in antiquity as Castalia, and this was diverted towards Antioch, while the spring called Pallas was used to serve Daphne.[43] This arrangement may account for the two names inscribed in the mosaic above the single personification, and also for the way the water is shown to flow into two separate receptacles.[44] Even so, it is difficult to identify the buildings represented in the scene from

[38] Summed up by Dunbabin 1989, 29–30.

[39] Levi 1947, 326–45, 324, fig. 136; pls LXXVI b – LXXX. Antakya, Hatay Archaeological Museum no. 1016.

[40] See Downey 1961, 659–64 for a discussion of how the order of scenes may be intended to relate to specific itineraries between Antioch and Daphne, and for dating of various depicted buildings.

[41] Lassus 1934, 129 fig. 10; Levi 1947, pl. LXXIX a.

[42] Downey 1961, 221–2; Levi 1947, 326.

[43] Wilber 1938, 50 n.4, and for references to ancient sources about Pallas and Castalia.

[44] The swimming figure in the rectangular structure may be another personification of the waters, rather than an indicator of its function. Cf. Levi 1947, 329 on the personification: 'Both (inscriptions) may refer to her if she is meant to represent Daphne's waters, or only the first one if she is a personification of the spring Castalia, while the swimmer in the piscina would symbolise the Spring Pallas.'

ancient literary sources, helpful though these may initially seem to be. The horseshoe-shaped building has been identified with the so-called *theatron* of the springs of Daphne, built by Hadrian in his programme of water control, but Malalas apparently implies that this work had involved two different 'theatre-type' buildings, which leaves open the identity of the rectangular 'tank'.[45]

Despite these problems, and the inevitably schematic representation of the buildings, they were surely recognizable to contemporary viewers, as being linked with the particular waters named in the inscriptions. Thus the springs are presented in the mosaic as identifying features in this urban landscape: they mark out a particular locality in the contemporary city and also celebrate its famous natural water supply (as Libanius had done a century or so before in *Antiochikos* 243–246). Yet they also contain allusions to the city's earlier history and thereby to myths which were attached to its foundation. Like its namesake at Delphi this Castalia was regarded as an oracle of Apollo and it had had an important role in the ancient mythologies that had created the foundation topography of Daphne.[46] The emperor Julian had wanted to reinstate this oracular role after its waters had been diverted by Hadrian.

Conclusions

Although few and sometimes tantalizingly fragmentary, these mosaics offer some valuable insights into the culture of Roman Antioch through the places evoked by the river personifications. These belong to three particular topographies. Some (the Ladon and the springs Castalia and Pallas) mark out places, historical and mythological, in Antioch and its neighbourhood; others (in the House of Cilicia) mark nearby areas of Roman empire; while others (the 'river-lovers' and the Eurotas) allude to places significant in Greek mythology. As markers of place these images are emblematic, almost iconic in appearance: their form is traditionally generic, and there is pairing, of young and old (in Pyramos and Tigris in the House of Cilicia), and of male and female (in the House of Porticoes, the House of Menander and in Bath E). Yet implicit in each case is some specific activity, whether a mythological story or the rivers' flow through particular lands and cities: in all these representations there is some allusion to the river as an agent.

These three topographies, civic, imperial and mythological, have an obvious relevance to the cultural experience of historic Antioch, and it is no surprise to find them revealed by this survey of river personifications. Greek

[45] Malalas 278. Downey 1961, 221–2, n.101. Cf. Chowen (1956, 275), who identifies the right-hand building as some kind of supply for the theatre, connected to it, he sees, by a channel indicated in the mosaic.

[46] Downey 1961, 83–4, 222, 387 for Castalia.

traditions and institutions were alive and well, while the imperial role of the city had become more significant as the focus of the empire shifted eastwards.[47] But furthermore, each of these topographies represents a fundamental category of space, which together add up to reflect the complexity of Antioch's culture: the *experience* of the local townscape and its social interactions, the *perceived* relationships (spatial and political) of the Roman empire, and the *imaginary* world of mythology.[48] These categories may also overlap in significant ways. For instance, the imaginary world becomes part of local lived experience when a house in Daphne celebrates the local myth in its floor mosaics, when the spring Castalia is the urban water supply, or when a Greek river with legendary associations (the Eurotas) is chosen to decorate the Roman-style baths.[49]

The dimension of time adds another value to such overlaps. Time, like place, is a fundamental factor in shaping social transactions, and this process can be represented in various culturally significant ways, such as the use of the past to confirm aspects of the present. Stories about the local past are a potent way of reinforcing common identity, by fostering (if not constructing) shared memories and traditions and a sense of 'cultural belonging'.[50] Thus the personifications of Ladon and Castalia draw local myths into contemporary contexts, just as Seleucus had done at the Hellenistic foundation of the city when he appropriated myths from mainland Greece, particularly to confirm Daphne as a site sacred to Apollo. In a sense, then, the rivers have the status of 'foundation heroes' in these mosaics, although the image of Castalia must also contain memories of the subsequent history of the spring in the Roman period, when it was rechannelled to the apparent detriment of its oracular powers.

The mythological world of these personifications is therefore made part of the city's communal identity; this is powerfully reinforced by their settings, one in a house at Daphne (the location of the myth) and the other within an extended representation of the local townscape. In contrast the past evoked by the four 'river lovers' is a timeless one which has no immediate connections with historic Antioch. This is perhaps its point. For this world seems to be outside historic time, and motivated, it seems, by frustrated love, as the young rivers 'flowed' between places in search of each other. The setting is Greece, and further west in Sicily, places which would have powerful resonances in the minds and imaginations of educated Antiochenes steeped in traditional Hellenic culture. This process of evoking a distant,

[47] Cf. Millar 1993, 258 re limited impact of *colonia* status; and 117 for 'the potential role of Antioch as a secondary capital city'.

[48] Cf. Harvey 1989, 218–23.

[49] NB Ostrowski 1991: the only Roman images of Eurotas were in a mythological context: cf. *LIMC* IV.1 (1988), 93 no. 5; *LIMC* VI.1 (1992), 188–9.

[50] Morley and Robins 1993, 9.

heroic past is another effective way of forming collective cultural memory, often seen in modern societies as a defence against the perceived threat of a growing multiculturalism.[51] Interestingly, Libanius used the mythological image of Alpheios flowing with fresh waters unmixed with the sea, to show how the Greek cultural traditions of an early local settlement at Antioch (Ione) survived uncontaminated by surrounding barbarism.[52] But even so, it would be unreasonable to read too much defensiveness into these particular river personifications. They are examples of a repertory of mythological images established in the Hellenistic period and common throughout the Eastern Mediterranean. Although its hold weakened from the fourth century on, in the case of Antiochene mosaics largely because of influences from Persia and the east, it remained an important frame of reference in Greek culture.[53]

This use of traditional figure types, familiar in local art, is a tangible way in which the past is bound with the present in these images. Although the four 'river lovers' represent a legendary time and place, they are depicted in forms which were conventional in the art of contemporary Antioch, as comparison with the busts in the House of Cilicia immediately confirms. Yet in that house the treatment of the personifications of rivers and territories takes this practice one step further. Using an image familiar in Hellenistic art from the 'Tyche of Antioch' and coinage of many cities, the mosaic offers a reconfiguration to express an altered political situation: the intimate relationship between the Tychai and their rivers is dismantled and the constituent figures displayed separately, in the border and central panel. This rearrangement of places and relationships in the mosaic's composition surely signals a new political geography, and the new relationships between cities and empire. It suggests that Hellenistic communities may retain their cultural identities, but within a new spatial frame.

This example shows how factors of time and place can interact together to form a new set of representations which are culturally meaningful. This process happens most often in periods of major change, when, for instance, the spatial world 'contracts' with the increased speed of communications.[54] Thus the new order of the Roman empire, with its links between neighbouring regions (such as Kilikia, Syria and Mesopotamia), brought their *Tychai* together, but separated them from the rivers which bestowed life and identity on places in the older, city-based world. A similar example is found in the set of images that form the 'Megalopsychia' pavement. They demonstrate a complex relationship between time and space, seemingly

[51] Cf. Morley and Robins 1993.

[52] Libanius, *Antiochikos* 68; cf. Downey 1961, 49–52.

[53] E.g. Kondoleon 2000, 65.

[54] Harvey 1989, 240, on 'time-space' compression.

within an overriding ideology. There, the 'real' Antioch portrayed in the topographical frieze encloses a more symbolic world in which Roman *venatores* are called after Greek mythological heroes, many of whom played some role in the legendary history of Antioch, and at the very centre presides a personification of the social virtue of *Megalopsychia*.[55] Within a single frame past and present are juxtaposed, and so are the different places they inhabit: they are to be read in terms of each other, and of the *megalopsychia* acted out by the hunters in the centre and (implicitly) by benefactors and builders of the contemporary city.

To conclude, these river personifications play an unassuming but important role in Antioch's cultural self-representation. In choosing and viewing these images on their floors, its inhabitants showed an ability to weave together topographical references from Greek myth and Roman empire which evoked a wide range of times and places. In so doing they were building a 'clearly structured social memory, a shared set of ideas about what their place was like and how it had become so'.[56]

[55] For the mythological heroes and possible links with Antioch's legendary beginnings: Malalas 13–14 (Adonis, a philosopher); 40–42 (Teiresias, a Boeotian philosopher and hunter exiled to the Temple of Apollo at Daphne); 88–90 (Hippolytus); 164–6 (Meleager). See also Mango 1995 (my thanks are due to Elizabeth Jeffreys for this reference).

[56] Clarke 1999, 281.

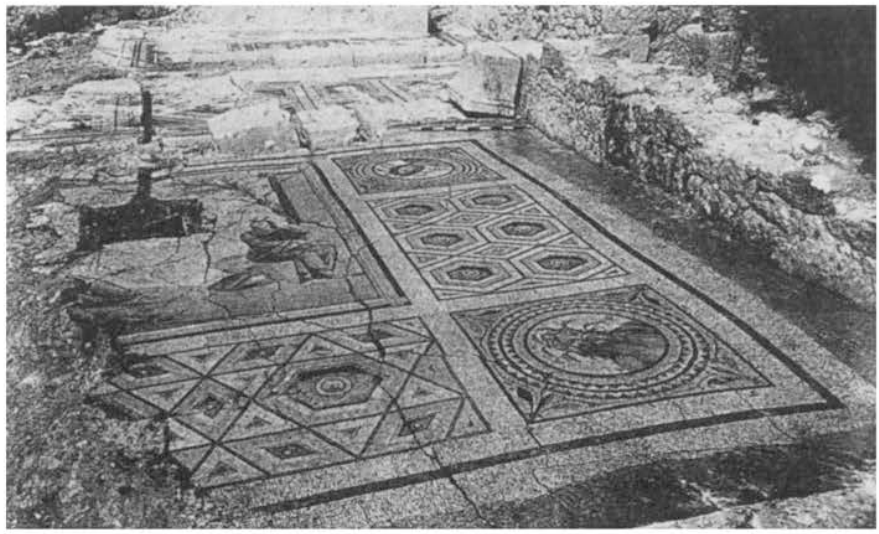


Fig 17.1 House of Cilicia, Room 1, looking southwest.

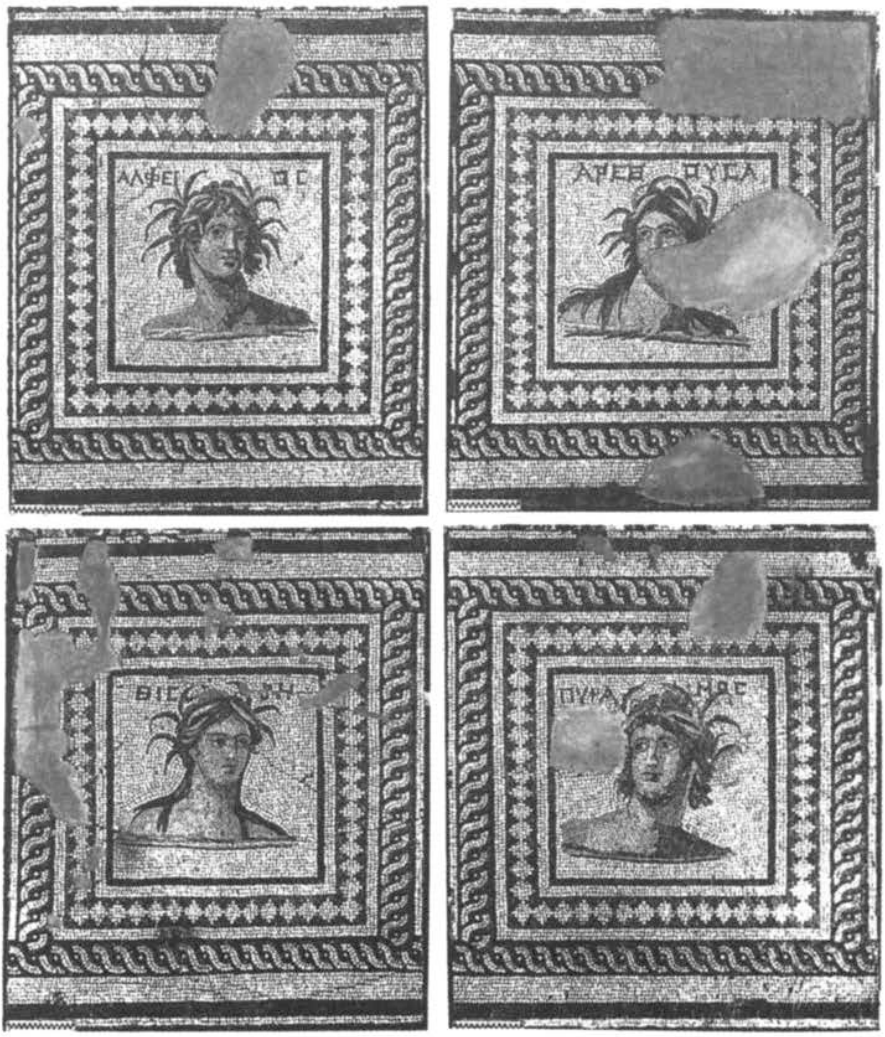


Fig. 17.2 a–d River gods from the House of Porticoes.

Fig. 17.3 Ladon and Psalis from the House of Menander at Daphne.

Fig. 17.4 Eurotas and Lakedemonia from Bath E.

Fig. 17.5 Detail from the topographical border of the 'Megalopsychia' pavement, showing springs.

PART V

IMAGES OF POWER, TIME AND PLACE

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

18

Poleos erastes: the Greek city as the beloved*

Yorgis Yatromanolakis

When Agamemnon, in *Iliad* 2.117–18 (= 9.24–5), wants to stress that Zeus is so powerful that he can destroy any city he wants to, he uses, for the first time in epic poetry, a metaphor about the city that eventually becomes one of the most frequent metaphors in ancient Greek and European literature.[1] 'Zeus', Agamemnon says,

... πολλάων πολίων κατέλυσε κάρηνα [2]
ἠδ᾽ ἔτι καὶ λύσει·

---

* I feel much obliged to Nicholas, who tried hard to correct my English. Needless to say, all the remaining mistakes are my own.

[1] The discussion by ancient and modern critics and scholars on the meaning of *metaphora* and the related terms *prosopopoiia* and *prosopoiesis* (which is a later term) is quite extensive, and the views expressed are various and controversial. In Aristotle both 'metaphor' and 'personification' are covered by the word *metaphora*, either by the so-called metaphor κατ᾽ ἀναλογίαν or πρὸ ὀμμάτων (*Rhetoric*, 1386a 34, 1411b 24). In *Rhetoric* 1411b 31ff. we learn that the more vivid Homeric metaphors which can 'make the lifeless live' are those which carry *energeia* (actualization or vivification) in themselves. Nevertheless the Homeric examples which are given by Aristotle *ad hoc* are not metaphors but personifications: see Kennedy 1991 *ad loc.* and cf. *Poetics* 1452a 23. On *prosopopoiia* (personification) see further Demetrius, *On Style* (ed. by W. Rhys Roberts, 1902) §§ 265–6, where the example is a personification of Greece: 'Imagine that ... Hellas, or your native land, assuming a woman's form (*schema*), should address...'. Webster's clarification of personification (1954, 1ff.) is right, of course, but his classification is (like Lloyd's, 1966, 200–04) a philosophical, not a literary one. On the other hand, Radford (1901) gives us some families of literary personification, including those which are related to the *polis*; his view that 'πόλις is a thoroughly personal conception to the Greek mind, both when used of Athens and when used of foreign states' (1901, 27) is extremely important. My book *Poleos Soma* (1991) deals extensively with metaphor and the personification of the city in Greek literature from Homer to Solon.

[2] See Eustathius on *Il.* 1.44: τὸ δὲ κάρηνα ἐκ μεταφορᾶς εἴληπται τῆς τῶν ζώων κεφαλῆς. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ ἄλλων μερῶν τοῦ σώματος ἄλλα κατὰ μεταφορὰν μέρη τοῦ ὄρους λέγεται, ὡς προϊοῦσι φανήσεται, οἷον ὀφρῦς ὄρους διὰ τὰς τῶν ζώων ὀφρῦς. Cf. Eustathius on *Il.* 2.117.

From *Personification In The Greek World: From Antiquity To Byzantium*, eds Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Copyright © 2005 by Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Published by Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, UK.

... has broken the crests (lit. 'heads') of many cities
and will break them again...[3]

This metaphor, whether considered as a 'dead' or traditional one, or active and still functioning in the Homeric text, shows without doubt that the city (*polis* or *asty*) was conceived as a human, living being from the earliest times.[4] Furthermore, as Michael Nagler[5] has shown by examining some groups of Homeric formulaic phrases, including those in which the word *kredemnon* (lit. 'veil', metaph. 'battlement, crenelation') appears – e.g. *Il.* 16.100 ὄφρ' οἷοι Τροίης ἱερὰ κρήδεμνα λύωμεν and *Od.* 13.388 οἷον ὅτε Τροίης λύομεν λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα, cf. *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 2, *to Demeter* 151) – throughout these formulae Troy seems to be represented in a state analogous to that of a raped woman. Nagler suggests that all these so-called traditional phrases should be seen in an entirely new light. Such groups of phrases, he says, 'should be considered not a closed "system" ... but an open-ended "family", and each phrase in the group should be considered an "allomorph"; a derivative not of any other phrase but of some preverbal, mental, but quite real entity underlying all such phrases at a more abstract level', that is a certain, preverbal 'Gestalt'.[6] 'For one thing', Nagler suggests,

> Homer's usage of the preceding families of phrases should indicate that the difference in denotion by itself cannot disqualify *kredemna* from bearing the signification 'chastity'. Indeed, to deny the word this power would be to miss the point of those two lines from epic [that is *Il.* 16. 100, and *Od.* 13. 388] which bring out poignantly and with remarkable economy the same 'rape' of Troy that is personified in the gestures of Hecuba and Andromache [...] Throughout the ancient world the idea of seizure and violation of the women would follow all too naturally on that of the ἁρπαγή, 'taking' of the city'.[7]

This original metaphor developed and evolved throughout time, and spawned a wide variety of relative metaphorical expressions; eventually the original 'descriptive' personification of the city (or the fatherland) as a woman gained new, interesting aspects and a new dynamism. So, for instance, a city (or a country) is not only personified as a woman,[8] but that woman becomes, in many instances, an object of reminiscence and love, the way someone feels for his family. On the other hand, this 'living' city or fatherland seems to 'express' similar feelings of desire and longing for the men who are away fighting in war, and in other instances she looks as if she

[3] Tr. R. Lattimore (*The Iliad of Homer*, University of Chicago Press 1951), adapted.

[4] On Homeric metaphor, see Stanford 1936 and Webster 1954.

[5] Nagler 1967 and 1974.

[6] Nagler 1974, 11ff.

[7] Nagler 1974, 53.

[8] We have to remember that in the Greek language the words *polis*, *patris*, *gaia* are all feminine, like so many of the personifications discussed in this volume.

wails and mourns like a woman who has lost a loved one.[9] The present paper tracks the origin and development of this particular metaphor in a series of writers, starting with Aeschylus in the fifth century BC and concluding with the second-century AD orator Aelius Aristides. At the same time it chronicles the 'moral' and ideological fluctuations of this 'erotic' relationship between the city and its citizens, that as one can guess are affected by the political conditions and perceptions current at the time. Schematizing this relationship in advance, one could argue that initially a 'romantic' love is developed between the citizens and their city (or country), similar to the love shared between two lovers who are apart. Later on, for instance in Plato, and especially in Aristophanes, this relationship loses its romantic element, since it is displayed as an erotic passion. The description of that erotic passion includes not only scenes of erotic rivalry, but also feelings and situations that refer to the relationship between a lover (*erastes*) and a loved one (*eromenos*), where strong sexual innuendos are present. Finally, since the city-state institution gradually dissolved over time, the city's image as it appears in Aristides has the features of an ideal loved one. The city (in Aristides' case, Smyrna), is described the same way the enamoured hero of the romances of the time describes his loved one. The one in love this time is the bedazzled writer himself, who praises the city's beauty, harmony and attractions, or mourns her destruction and loss.

Homer

The theme of the desired land (or the desired home) is met frequently in Homer. In the *Iliad*, along with the image of 'captive' and 'raped' Troy, the Achaeans' constant craving for their fatherland and nostalgia for their loved ones is cited. In addition, the occasions where the Greeks demonstrate eagerness to abandon the war without attaining their goal and return to their homeland are not rare. Even Commander-in-Chief Agamemnon expresses such feelings in *Il.* 2.139–40, when he addresses his soldiers: 'Come then, do as I say, let us all be won over; let us run away with our ships to the beloved land of our fathers' (φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν).[10]

In the *Iliad*, in at least one instance, the desire for the home city is described in terms similar to the ones used to describe erotic, sexual desire. Thus, when Helen listens to Iris-Laodice inviting her to leave her chambers and observe the warriors from Troy's walls, the woman feels *himeros* for her city, her parents and even her husband (!) (3.139f.):

[9] E.g. *Il.* 1.254 = 7.124 = ὦ πόποι, ἦ μέγα πένθος Ἀχαιΐδα γαῖαν ἱκάνει. Cf. *Od.* 9.196f. For this metaphor see Arist. *Rhet.* 1411a 26, 1411a 32-33.

[10] See also *Il.* 2.157 ff., 173ff., 3. 73f., 9.27ff., 414, 11.11ff., 12.14, 16.99 ff., 23.144ff., 24.556 and cf. 17. 338ff.

Ὣς εἰποῦσα θεὰ γλυκὺν ἵμερον ἔμβαλε θυμῷ
ἀνδρός τε προτέρου καὶ ἄστεος ἠδὲ τοκήων· [11]

Speaking so the goddess left in her heart sweet longing after her husband of time before, and her city and parents.

This (typical) expression of homesickness is articulated in the same (typical) manner that sexual desire is conveyed, as for example in the case of Paris declaring his desire to Helen, 3.446 (cf. 14. 328):

... ὥς σεο νῦν ἔραμαι καί με γλυκὺς ἵμερος αἱρεῖ.
... not even then, as now, did I love you and sweet desire seize me.

In an analogous erotic situation, between Zeus and Hera, we also find in book 14.198ff. the relevant expression δὸς νῦν μοι φιλότητα καὶ ἵμερον, ᾧ τε σὺ πάντας / δαμνᾷ ἀθανάτους ἠδὲ θνητοὺς ἀνθρώπους ('give me love and desire, the powers by which you yourself subdue mankind and gods alike'). [12]

In the *Odyssey*, as one might expect, one can find a similar desire for the fatherland. [13] Besides, the main theme of the poem is none other than Odysseus' *nostos*, i.e. the hero's unquenched nostalgia and longing to return to his land and family. His desire is uttered on numerous occasions with a series of formulaic expressions such as φίλους τ' ἰδέειν καὶ ἱκέσθαι / οἶκον ἐϋκτίμενον καὶ σὴν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν ('to see his friends and to reach his well-built home and native land', 4.475–6). [14] However, one can observe that all these expressions regarding Odysseus' return seem to have a 'typical' character, a definite and expected 'intensity', without any particular personal tone or 'passion'. The hero's homecoming, as these expressions demonstrate, seems to be a 'planned' and expected event rather than a strong personal desire. Regardless of their origin, what phrases like οἴκαδέ τ' ἐλθέμεναι καὶ

[11] Cf. what Pandaros says in *Il.* 5.212f.

[12] Cf. *Il.* 14. 216: ἔνθ' ἔνι μὲν φιλότης, ἐν δ' ἵμερος, ἐν δ' ὀαριστύς. In the *Iliad* the word *himeros* (and the verb *himeromai*) denotes, in addition to sexual desire (3.397, 446, 14.163, 170), a strong desire for dance, crying etc. Such meaning of the word does not exist in the *Odyssey*. In the *Iliad* the word *pothos* (*pothe*, *potheo*) usually express longing for a missing person, or a thing, see e.g. 1.240, 492, 2.709, 11.161, 471, 19.321, 24.7. The missing person could be a husband, of course: 5.414, κουρίδιον ποθέουσα πόσιν. Cf. Pl. *Crat.* 419e 3ff., for the supposed meaning of *pothos*, *himeros*, *eros*. On the various meanings of *eros* and *eran* (*erasthai*) see also Dover 1989, 42ff., 156ff.

[13] Note that the only time that *himeros* (*himeromai*) is related to someone's native country is when Zeus speaks about the exile Orestes (*Od.* 1. 41): ὁππότ' ἂν ἡβήσῃ τε καὶ ἧς ἱμείρεται αἴης. On the other hand the sense of *oikou pothos* is related to Telemachus, while he is in Sparta (4.596): οὐδέ κέ μ' οἴκου ἔλοι πόθος οἰδε τοκήων.

[14] Cf. 1.203, 290, 2.221, 4.521ff. and 545 (Agamemnon), 4.558, 7.74f., 193, 9.79, 530ff., 10.33, 66, 420, 462, 473f., 12.345, 13.52, 197, 219, 426, 14.333, 15.30, 65, 128f. (Telemachus), 17.539f., 18.148, 19.258, 298, 21.258f. In book 5, where the divine plan for Odysseus's homecoming is under way, the relevant formulae appear eleven times (15, 26, 37, 42, 115, 144, 168, 204, 207, 301, 315).

νόστιμον ἦμαρ ἰδέσθαι ('to reach home and see the happy day of my return', 5.220) convey, is a general idea of *nostos* that is always connected to friends, the home, and the fatherland. However, this 'typical' expression of *nostos* does take on a more personal tone for Odysseus and his feelings do become stronger in certain instances, as when it seems that the hero has definitely lost his land. When Odysseus wakes up alone in a foreign land where the Phaeacians have left him, and he cannot recognize it (although he is back in Ithaca), his reactions are similar to mourning and lamentation, 13.194ff.:

τοὔνεκ' ἄρ' ἀλλοειδέα φαινέσκετο πάντα ἄνακτι,
ἀτραπιτοί τε διηνεκέες λιμένες τε πάνορμοι
πέτραι τ' ἠλίβατοι καὶ δένδρεα τηλεθάοντα.
στῆ δ' ἄρ' ἀναΐξας καί ῥ' ἔσιδε πατρίδα γαῖαν,
ᾤμωξέν τ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα καί ὦ πεπλήγετο μηρὼ
χερσὶ καταπρηνέσσ', ὀλοφυρόμενος δ' ἔπος ηὔδα·[15]

Hence it was that all seemed strange to the king himself – the outstretching paths, the hospitable harbours, the sheer cliffs and the leafy trees. He leapt up ... then gave a groan and struck his thighs with the flat of his hands as he cried out in his disasters.[16]

The next part of this scene indicates that what Odysseys really *desires* is not the valuables he brings along (although he makes sure he counts them!), but the fatherland (13. 217ff.):

ὣς εἰπὼν τρίποδας περικαλλέας ἠδὲ λέβητας
ἠρίθμει καὶ χρυσὸν ὑφαντά τε εἵματα καλά.
τῶν μὲν ἄρ' οὔ τι πόθει· ὁ δ' ὀδύρετο πατρίδα γαῖαν ...

And with these words he began to count the handsome tripods and all cauldrons, the gold and the lovely woven garments. Nothing, he found, was lacking there, but still he sighed for his own land ...

It is interesting to note that nowhere in the *Odyssey* does Odysseus' personal desire and lamentation seem related to Penelope. So, for example, when Calypso (5.209f.) mentions Odysseus' (natural and expected) desire to see Penelope, 'this despite all your zeal to see once more (ἱμειρόμενός περ ἰδέσθαι) the wife that you yearn for, day by day (τῆς αἰὲν ἐέλδεαι ἤματα πάντα)',[17] he vaguely states that his 'deep desire and longing is still to reach' his own home. Moreover, as he mentions in book 9.32ff., when he refers to Circe's attempt to keep him near her, 'so true it is that nothing is sweeter to a man than his own country and his own parents, even though he were given a sumptuous dwelling-place elsewhere, in a strange land and far from his

[15] Cf. *Il.* 12.163f., 15, 397f., 21.272, 22.33, 23.13.
[16] Trans. by W. Shewring (Homer, *The Odyssey*, Oxford 1980).
[17] Cf. *Od.* 1.58f. See Eustathius, *Od.* 1.58, on Odysseus' *philopatria*.

parents'.[18] The person who seems constantly to wail, mourn and wane as she *craves* all these years for Odysseus to return, is Penelope, e.g. 1.343ff.:

... ἀποπαύε' ἀοιδῆς
λυγρῆς, ἥ τέ μοι αἰὲν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλον κῆρ
τείρει, ἐπεί με μάλιστα καθίκετο πένθος ἄλαστον.
τοίην γὰρ κεφαλὴν ποθέω μεμνημένη αἰεὶ
ἀνδρός ...[19]

... but cease from this melancholy lay that always wrings my heart within me, because I more than any other am pierced by sorrow beyond forgetting; so peerless a man is he I mourn for ...

In brief, one can argue that in the *Odyssey*, at least to the extent that relevant wording can reveal, the only time when Odysseus expresses any real personal desire for something is when he refers to his land. His 'desired' loved one seems to be his homeland, and not Penelope, as one might have expected.[20]

Aeschylus and Thucydides

The concept of a mutual love and desire that men feel for their country and the country feels for her men, appears for the first time in the *Agamemnon*, in the scene where the Herald of the newly arrived army enters the stage and converses with the Chorus (538ff.):

Χο. κῆρυξ Ἀχαιῶν χαῖρε τῶν ἀπὸ στρατοῦ.
Κη. χαίρω. τό τεθνᾶναι δ' οὐκέτ' ἀντερῶ θεοῖς.
Χο. ἔρως πατρῴας τῆσδε γῆς σ' ἐγύμνασεν;
Κη. ὥστ' ἐνδακρύειν γ' ὄμμασιν χαρᾶς ὕπο.
Χο. τερπνῆς ἄρ' ἦστε τῆσδ' ἐπήβολοι νόσου,
Κη. πῶς δή; διδαχθεὶς τοῦδε δεσπόσω λόγου.
Χο. τῶν ἀντερώντων ἱμέρῳ πεπλημμένοι.
Κη. ποθεῖν ποθοῦντα τήνδε γῆν στρατὸν λέγεις;

Leader: Welcome home from the wars, herald, long live your joy.
Herald: Our joy – now I could die gladly. Say the word, dear gods.
Leader: Longing for your country left you raw
Herald: The tears fill my eyes, or joy
Leader: You too, down the sweet disease that kills man with kindness ...
Herald: Go on, I don't see what you –
Leader: Love for the ones who love you – that's what struck you.

[18] Cf. *Od.* 10.414ff..
[19] Cf. *Od.* 16.204f., 17.136f.
[20] Even when Odysseus and his wife find themselves alone in their bedroom, for the first time after so many years, they do not express any desire for making love; their strongest *himeros* is to weep and sleep together, 23.231f., 254f. In any case they do not seem to enjoy (*terpesthai*) sex more than the stories they tell each other, 23.300f.

Herald: You mean the land and the armies hungered for each other? [21]

It is obvious that this passage does not describe just a 'romance', where the desire and love of the two separated 'lovers' is absolute and mutual.[22] What is also depicted is a painful and destructive love ('left you raw',[23] 'disease', 'struck'[24]) between the Achaeans and their land, between two suffering separated lovers who are preoccupied only with their final reunion.[25] The erotic relationship between the Achaeans and their land resembles the pathology that characterizes the burning and 'romantic' love between two spouses or lovers that are apart. Still, in this particular case, the long separation and the fear for what is bound to happen between the royal couple of Mycenae, constitute this relationship which is unique in its intensity.

The notion of love towards the homeland recurs in the *Eumenides* (851f.) in the scene where Athena warns the angered deities that they should not leave Athens. In the opposite case, the goddess states:

ὑμεῖς δ' ἐς ἀλλόφυλον ἐλθοῦσαι χθόνα
γῆς τῆσδ' ἐρασθήσεσθε· προυννέπω τάδε.

If you leave for an alien land and alien people,
you will come to love this country. I promise you.[26]

It is obvious that the same feelings of 'love' and homesickness were shared by the Athenians in the audience each time they were away from the city. However, in this instance we can observe that the (potential) 'love' of the bashful virgins towards the city does not seem to be mutual, as in the case

[21] Transl. Robert Fagles (*Aeschylus the Oresteia*, Penguin Books, repr. with revisions 1979), adapted. It is obvious that the imagery in this passage goes beyond the idea that 'the land and the armies hungered for each other'. Note for example the 'harassing' (ἐγύμνασεν) and the 'smiting' nature (ἱμέρῳ πεπληγμένοι) of love, or the imagery of love disease. Cf. the ancient Scholia *ad loc.* Modern scholars (including Fränkel and Denniston-Page) are not attracted by this passage.

[22] Fraenkel 1962, on vv.543 and 545, refers to 'the cryptic brevity' and the achieved 'balance' of these two lines.

[23] Cf. Aesch. *P.V.* 585–6: ἄδην με πολύπλανοι πλάναι / γεγυμνάκασιν, Soph. *Trac.* 1083. Cf. Aesch. *Danaides* (fr. 44) 1–2: ἐρᾷ μὲν ἀγνὸς οὐρανὸς τρῶσαι χθόνα, / ἔρως δὲ γαῖαν λαμβάνει γάμου τυχεῖν.

[24] Cf. *Ag.* 1203 (μῶν καὶ θεός περ ἱμέρῳ πεπληγμένος) and *Ch.* 600. See also *Supp.* 1005, *P.V.* 865, Eur. *Med.* 556.

[25] The word *eros* (*ero*) in Aeschylus means usually 'love'; a few times it means 'sex'. See e.g. *Supp.* 1002, 1042, *Ag.* 743, *Ch.* 597, 600. For the meaning of *pothos* (*potho*) in Aeschylus, see also *Per.* 134f., 512, 542. In the *Persae* not only the Persian women (like Penelope in the *Odyssey*) but their (personified) land long and mourn for their missing men: *Per.* 61ff. οὓς πέρι πᾶσα χθὼν Ἀσιῆτις / θρέψασα πόθῳ στένεται μαλερῷ, cf. 133–6, 511f, 541–8, 992. See Broadhead's comments on 133 and 136 (1960, *ad loc.*).

[26] See the comments ad *Eumenides* 852 of Sommerstein (1989) and Podlecki (1992). Cf. *patridos eran, patridos erontas*, in Eur. *Phoen.* 359 and fr. 729, 2.

described in the *Agamemnon*. This is not so much because the angered deities' nature does not facilitate such a 'passion' but mostly because this 'love' seems to be based on profit. The aged deities (γεραιτέρα, 848) are going to benefit from this relationship; they are going to enjoy honours (τιμιώτερος χρόνος... τιμίαν ἕδραν 853–5). In other words, as Athena states, the deities are going to 'have a share in this land so beloved by the gods' (869). It seems natural then that during the era of Athenian hegemony, patriotism (*philopatria*)[27] gradually came to be based on the otherwise lawful notion of power, benefit and security that Athens offers. At the same time, as we might expect, the powerful city of Athens is extolled as an ideal, sacred land and divine nurturer.

The idealization of Athens' state power becomes even clearer (through the same metaphor) in the years that follow. A few years after the *Oresteia* was performed (458 BC), and more specifically during the winter of 431 BC, Pericles, in his Funeral Speech, encourages his countrymen to 'fix your gaze upon the power of Athens and become lovers of her' (τὴν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν καθ' ἡμέραν ἔργῳ θεωμένους καὶ ἐραστὰς γιγνομένους αὐτῆς, Thuc. 2.43.7–8). As Gomme says, 'Pericles is indeed here lauding the power of Athens rather than her beauty and wisdom; but that power is accompanied by, and in part dependent on, her love of beauty and wisdom.'[28] We cannot clearly say what is the origin of this notion of 'Athens' lover' mentioned in the passage. Gomme tends to believe that Thucydides could not attribute to Pericles something that he had not said. There is no great doubt that this bold concept (even if the passage was written after 404 BC, when the city's power and image have been distorted) belongs to Pericles, the original lover of Athens and the power that the city represented. What Thucydides was aiming at, as Gomme seems to believe, is to stick to what Pericles really said, as accurately as possible.

Aristophanes and Plato

This 'idealistic passage' by Thucydides, as Gomme calls it,[29] has many times been associated with similar passages from other Athenian poets that refer back to hymns worshipping the land of Athens, such as the ode in Euripides' *Medea* (824ff.), Sophocles' hymn in the *Oedipus Coloneus* (668ff.) and the

[27] The word appears for the first time in Ar. *Wasps*, 1465. Ancient scholia ad loc, and LSJ *s.v.*, explain it as 'love of one's country', 'patriotism'. Macdowell (1988, *ad loc.*) is right in translating 'love for his father'. The word *philopolis* is already in Thucydides (vi. 92).

[28] Gomme 1956, ii.43.1. Cf. the comments of Hornblower (1991) *ad loc.* For the meaning of the word *erastes*, see LSJ *s.v.* Thucydides uses the word *erastes* to describe the relationship between Harmodios and Aristogeiton, vi. 54.2ff. Cf. Herodotus 3.53.16–17 (Τυραννὶς χρῆμα σφαλερόν, πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐρασταί εἰσι) and 1.96 (ἐρασθεὶς τυραννίδος).

[29] Neil (1966, on Ar. *Knights* 1341–2) sees Pericles' phrase as a 'passionate expression of patriotism'; cf. on line 732.

Chorus in Aristophanes' *Clouds* (299-313). This connection is legitimate, but the interesting thing, at least as far as Aristophanes is concerned, is that the great dramatist also quite boldly and sarcastically mocks the usage of the 'city's lover' notion in Athenian politics. This is originally depicted in the *Acharnians*, a play presented in 425 BC. Theoros who was sent by Athens as a representative to Sitalkes, king of the Thracians, describes the manner in which his crude host expresses his feelings towards the Athenians (141ff.):

> Τοῦτον μετὰ Σιτάλκους ἔπινον τὸν χρόνον·
> καὶ δῆτα φιλαθήναιος ἦν ὑπερφυῶς
> ὑμῶν τ' ἐραστὴς ὡς ἀληθῶς, ὥστε καὶ ἦν ἀληθὴς
> ἐν τοῖσι τοίχοις ἔγραφ', 'Αθηναῖοι καλοί. [30]
>
> During that time I was ... drinking with Sitalkes. And I must say he was incredibly pro-Athenian, and a true lover of you all, so much that he kept writing up on the walls 'The Athenians are beautiful.' [31]

Even if one accepts that there is no blame implied in the passage regarding the Athenians' possible 'passive' role (a kind of behavior that Aristophanes does not seem to approve at all), likening Sitalkes and the Athenians to *lovers* and *kaloi eromenoi*, implies a great deal.[32] Thucydides' idealized 'lover' appears in Aristophanes as vulgar and uncivilized, whose behaviour offends the Athenians. The comic poet makes this same criticism against the Athenians' political 'passiveness' in the parabasis of the *Acharnians* (630ff.), where he basically reiterates the same sexual innuendos.[33] The concept of the demagogue lover of the city comes back in an even more daring manner in the *Knights* (424 BC), a play in which Demos of Athens appears in person conversing with his *lover*, Cleon (as Paphlagon), and Cleon's rival, the Sausage-seller.[34] Paphlagon and the Sausage-Seller are quarreling in front of Demos' house. Demos appears and asks (725ff., Hall-Geldart):

---

[30] On *philathenaios* see Macdowell's comment on *Wasps* 282 (Clarendon Paperbacks, Oxford 1988).

[31] Trans. A.H. Sommerstein (*Acharnians*, Aris and Phillips, Warminster 1980).

[32] On the Athenian practice of writing the names of their lovers on the walls, see Ar. *Wasps*, 97, and *Scholia* on *Ach.* and Wasps *ad loc.*

[33] *Ach.* 635: μήθ' ἥδεσθαι θωπευομένους, μήτ' εἶναι χαυνοπολίτας; 638-9: ἐπ' ἄκρων τῶν πυγιδίων ἐκάθησθε / εἰ δέ τις ὑμᾶς ὑποθωπεύσας λιπαρὰς καλέσειεν 'Αθήνας. On the word χαυνοπολίτας, see further Henderson 1991, 211.

[34] See how the (personified) Demos is described, *Knights* 40ff. and cf. the 'geographical' description of Paphlagon, *Knights* 75ff. On the scene in 725ff., see Taillardat 1965, 401. The same metaphor appears again at *Knights* 1340ff.

ΠΑ. Ὦ Δῆμε, δεῦρ' ἔξελθε.
ΑΛ. Νὴ Δί', ὦ πάτερ, ἔξελθε δῆτ'.
ΠΑ. Ὦ Δημίδιον, <ὦ> φίλτατον.
ἔξελθ', ἵν' εἰδῇς οἷα περιυβρίζομαι.
ΔΗΜΟΣ Τίνες οἱ βοῶντες οὐκ ἄπιτ' ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας;
Τὴν εἰρεσιώνην μου κατεσπαράξατε.
Τίς, ὦ Παφλαγών, ἀδικεῖ σε;
ΠΑ. Διὰ σὲ τύπτομαι
ὑπὸ τουτουὶ καὶ τῶν νεανίσκων.
ΔΗ. Τιή;
ΠΑ 'Οτιὴ φιλῶ σ', ὦ Δῆμ', ἐραστής τ' εἰμὶ σός.
ΔΗ. Σὺ δ' εἶ τίς ἐτεόν;
ΑΛ. 'Αντεραστὴς τουτουί,
ἐρῶν πάλαι σου βουλόμενός τέ σ' εὖ ποεῖν,
ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ καλοί τε κἀγαθοί.
'Αλλ' οὐχ οἷοί τ' ἐσμὲν διὰ τουτονί. Σὺ γὰρ
ὅμοιος εἶ τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς ἐρωμένοις·
τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς τε κἀγαθοὺς οὐ προσδέχει,
σαυτὸν δὲ λυχνοπώλαισι καὶ νευρορράφοις
καὶ σκυτοτόμοις καὶ βυρσοπώλαισιν δίδως.

Paphlagon: Demos, come out here!'
Sausage-Seller: Yes, father, do come out!
Paphlagon: My darling, little Demos, come out and see the sort of outrageous treatment that I'm enduring!
Demos (*within*): Who are the people shouting? Go away from the door, will you? (*Opening the door*) You've knocked my harvest-wreath to pieces! (*Recognizing Paphlagon*) Who's doing you wrong, Paphlagon?
Paphlagon: I'm being assaulted on your account by this man and these youngsters.
Demos: For what reason?
Paphlagon: Because I cherish you, Demos; because I am your lover.
Demos (*to Sausage-seller*): And tell me, who are you?
Sausage-seller: This man's rival for your love; one who has long desired you and wanted to do things for your good, as many other good and decent people. But we can't do them, because of this fellow. You're like the boys who have lovers: you don't accept those who are good and decent, but give yourself to lamp-sellers and cobblers and shoemakers and leather-mongers.[35]

The comic scene between *erastes* and *anterastes* in front of the house of the *eromenos* Demos, might state the 'generalised hostility to boys who play the

[35] Tr. Sommerstein (*Knights*, Aris and Phillips, Warminster, 1981). For a complete analysis of the scene, see Newiger 1957, 33ff., and Petersen 1939, 1–7.

role of *eromenoi*'.[36] However the comparison of Demos to *tois paisi tois eromenois* leaves no doubts that Aristophanes' intention is not so much to belittle Demos, but to condemn the political demagogue and the disgraceful state which noble Athenians are in as a result of their political and sexual moral standards. Equating the Athenians' (Demos') political behaviour with the unacceptable (for the poet) sexual behavior of the young men reduces the lover-politician concept (as it appears in Pericles' speech) to a vulgar and pathetic caricature.[37] Even worse, the lovers' immaculate admiration towards Athens' *power* is converted (as the association of the boys who have lovers with Demos indicates), to a blunt ambition to gain power at the expense of both the *lovers* and Demos.

It is interesting to note that a similar comparison between the loved one (*eromenos*) and the City (Demos) of Athens occurs in Plato, at least twice. In *Gorgias* (481d3f.), Socrates addresses Callicles stating:

> You and I are at this moment in much the same condition. We are lovers both (*eronte*), and both of us have two loves apiece: I am the lover of Alcibiades, the son of Cleinias, and of philosophy; and you of the Athenian Demos, and the son of Pyrilampes. Now, I observe that you, with all your cleverness, do not venture to contradict your favourite (*paidika*) in any word or opinion of his; but as he changes you change, backwards and forwards.

According to Socrates, the reason someone wants to be liked by Demos or by the *paidika* is the desire to gain power. 'It is your duty', Socrates continues after a while (513a),

> to make yourself as like as possible to the Athenian people (*demos*), if you intend to win its affection (*prosphiles*) and have great influence in the city ... for you must be no mere imitator, but essential like them, if you mean to achieve any genuine sort of friendship with Demos and with the son of Pyrilampes.

Callicles seems unwilling to agree and Socrates responds, 'The love of Demos (*ho demou eros*), Callicles, which is within your soul resists me.'[38] The second instance is in *Alcibiades A*, 131e–132a. Although this dialogue is not considered to be genuine, it contains similar notions regarding Demos' lovers and the young men to those in *Gorgias*. 'The reason', Socrates says to Alcibiades,

---

[36] Dover 1978, 146.

[37] Nevertheless Aristophanes' scornful attitude toward the political behavior of the Athenian Demos, as it becomes manifest through all these sexual innuendos, is not as harmful as other cases. See e.g. the strong sexual metaphor concerning the 'hungry' army of Odomantes and Boeotia: τούτοις ἐάν τις δύο δραχμὰς μισθὸν διδῷ, / καταπελτάσονται τὴν Βοιωτίαν ὅλην, *Ach.* 159–60. See Henderson 1975, *s.v. katapeltazein*.

[38] See Olympiodorus, *Scholia* on *Gorgias*, 513c7.

> that I used to be near you all the time is that I was your only true lover; the rest were just fond of your beauty, which eventually fades away. In any case, I will not abandon you, provided that you will not be corrupted by the Athenian *demos* and become uglier (*aischion*). However I fear very much that if you try to become very popular with the demos (*demerastes*), you will be corrupted. This has happened already to many and gentle Athenians, because the Demos of Erechtheus is very presentable (*euprosopos*).'[39]

Socrates' fear for Alcibiades' possible political corruption is due to the fact that his friend will become associated with the (corrupted, in his mind) City (Demos) of Athens in order to gain power, as in the case of Callicles. Moreover, this case of political corruption seems even worse since it is equated (even if only on the level of a word game) with the relationship between a ruthless lover of the city (*demerastes*) and a presentable (*euprosopos*) but 'immoral' beloved. Socrates condemns both the weak lovers of young boys, and the weak lovers of the Demos because they are equally driven by an irrational passion. This position is demonstrated even more clearly in the *Republic*. 'But what we require,' Socrates says to Glaukon (*Rep.* 521b3), 'is that those who take office, should not be lovers of rule (*erastas tou archein*). Otherwise there will be a contest with rivals lovers (*anterastai machountai*).'[40] 'Consequently,' he argues, 'the most suitable people to be entrusted with the protection of a city (ἀναγκάσεις ἰέναι ἐπὶ φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως) are those who, although they know perfectly how to rule a city, prefer to live more worthily and more honourably than the politicians do.'

Aristides

The 'city's lover' metaphor and personification continues to appear sporadically in texts of other Greek writers after Plato.[41] However, the one writer who uses it the most and to its fullest is the second-century AD orator Aelius Aristides, the *technikotatos sophistes*, as Philostratus calls him (*Lives of the Sophists* 2.9).[42] One could argue that through Aristides the metaphor regains its original idealism and romanticism and is cleansed from the demagogical nuance it acquired in Aristophanes and Plato, as well as from

---

[39] See LSJ. *s.v.*

[40] 'Socrates' fear that love of the δῆμος – which is in fact love for power – may corrupt Alcibiades', Dodds 1959, *ad* 513c7.

[41] See e.g. Xen. *Symp.* 8. 41 (τῇ πόλει συνεραστὴς ὤν) cf. *Hell.* 5.3.19, D. Chr. *Or.* 32.8.3., 36.7, 77.8, 33. 48.3, 34.17.8. For extensive similar imagery, see Lucian *Pro domo*, and especially *Patriae Encomium*.

[42] On Aristides' style, metaphors, and figures of speech, see Schmid 1964, 254f. ('Belebtes für Unbelebtes', 'Unbelebtes für Belebtes'), 259 ('Der menschlishe Körper und seine πάθη'), 295, (Prosopopöie); Norden 1915, I, 401; Boulanger 1968, 305–411, on metaphor in Aristides 413ff. See also Lenz and Behr (eds) 1976, xcviii–cxvi, 'A short history of the study of Aristides'. On the life of Aristides, Behr 1968, 1–12.

the accompanying sexual innuendos. The reason for the existence of this idealized notion of the 'city's lover' is not irrelevant to the idealism and romanticism that characterize Aristides' views on the past, and particularly the Attic past, whose 'romantische Verklärung', as Lesky puts it,[43] is reflected in his work and especially in the *Panathenaic Oration*.[44] Aristides likes frequently to refer to and praise Athens, Rome, Corinth, or places like the Aegean Sea, a well, etc. However, his allusions become even warmer when he writes about Smyrna, a city that he dearly loved but also mourned, after it was destroyed by earthquake in AD 177.

In the five works the orator dedicates to Smyrna (one before the earthquakes and four after),[45] his 'love' appears absolute and honest. He does not regard the city as a politician hoping to conquer it and gain power. Smyrna attracts him with her unparalleled beauty and her natural and cultural virtues. He is drawn to her attractions and cannot take his eyes off her. He views the city as an ideal lover and praises her beautiful body as if it is a woman's body, and mourns for her destruction in the same way as the heroes of Hellenistic romances grieve for their lost lovers.

The Smyrnaean Oration I, 'this charming little speech',[46] was written during the happy days of both, Smyrna and Aristides, i.e. before the destructive earthquake. This Oration not only 'gives about the best description of ancient Smyrna which we possess', as Behr states; it is an outstanding example of how an enchanted writer can present a city as an attractive, desirable feminine body (8–9):

> I think if an image of some city had to appear in heaven, like the story of Ariadne's crown and of all the other images of rivers and animals which were honoured by the gods, this city's image would have prevailed to appear. It seems to me by its nature to be the very model of a city, and neither to need its citizen poet (i.e. Homer) to woo favour for it (*promnomenou*) nor any other art to praise it, but it itself recommends a love (*proxenein ton erota*) of itself among all mankind, and it itself holds the eyes[47] in thrall without beguiling the ears. It lies spread above the sea, ever displaying the flower of its beauty, as if it had

[43] Lesky 1971, 934.

[44] All references are to the edition of W. Dindorf (*Aristides*, 3 vols, Leipzig 1829, reprinted 1964).

[45] *The Smyrnaean Oration* i (Dindorf, xv), *A Monody for Smyrna* (Dindorf, xx), *A Palinode for Smyrna* (Dindorf, xi) *The Smyrnaean Oration* ii (Dindorf, xxii) and *A Letter to the Emperors Concerning Smyrna* (Dindorf, xli). I use the translation of Behr (1981).

[46] Behr (1981, 356) dates it to AD 157: 'The speech was delivered in honour of the arrival of the governor of Asia in Smyrna, and is a kind of touristic guide for him'. About the same time Achilles Tatius, through his hero (an *acorestos theates*) gives us a description of his own city, Alexandria (5.1). Boulanger (1968, 18) says that Aristides describes Smyrna in his works 'avec une tendresse filiale'.

[47] On the attractive power of the eyes see Achilles Tatius 1.4, 6.7. Cf. 3.7.3: ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀνθεῖ τὸ κάλλος. Both Alexandria (5.1) and the erotic rose (2.2) have *astrapton kallos*.

> not been settled gradually, but all at once arose from the earth with a magnitude unforced and unhurried. Everywhere it possesses greatness and harmony, and its magnitude adds to its beauty. And you would not say that it was many cities scattered about bit by bit but a single city the equal of many, and a single city consistent in appearance, harmonious, its parts compatible with the whole, like the human body ... .[48]

The city is so charming that it attracts anyone who stares at its beauties (19–22):

> No stranger, hearing about it, would succeed in completely comprehending it. I think that all men would privately resolve that, as it is said that a man bitten (πληγέντα) by a viper does not wish to tell anyone other than a man who has had the same experience,[49] so too he who has seen them, or intends to presently, should not lightly reveal the story to others, as it were sacred rites to profane man [exactly as those who, possessed by the love of boys, are unwilling to reveal anything (ὥσπερ οἱ ὑπ' ἔρωτος κατεχόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς κομιδῆ παῖδας οὐκ ἐθέλουσι διηγεῖσθαι.)].[50] (19) Perhaps a poet would express it in this way and charm us thereby. The harbour is the navel of the city and the sea its eye, no less visible to those far away on either side than to those who live next to it; and the Acropolis rises aloft through the whole city and the sea stretches along it like a base (*basis*) ... (21) A little before I mentioned the interior of the gulf (*mychou tou kolpou*); what remains to be said concerning the whole gulf is brief. (22) Its name is completely appropriate to this city and to no other. For it is a 'bosom' (*kolpos*) in its gentleness, utility, beauty, and form, but in its nature it is an open sea ... .

In his *Monody for Smyrna*,[51] Aristides, having received the news about the destruction of his beloved city, 'the fairest of cities', tries to illustrate its former beautiful form, although he admits that 'the sights were beyond description' (3):

> Immediately upon approaching there was a sheen of beauty and there was proportion, measure, and stability in its magnitude, as it were a single harmony. Its feet (*podes*) set firmly on the beaches, harbours and glades; its central portion (*mesotes*) rising above the plain the same distance by which it fell short

[48] On the notion of symmetry in bodies, see Pl. *Phaidrus* 264c2. This dogma of symmetry in any 'body' (animal, text, city) was well known during the time of Aristides, see. e.g. Hermogenes, *Meth.*, 1.12.31. The same idea appears in the *Smyrnean Oration* ii.

[49] See Behr's note *ad loc.* (1981). Aristides draws this idea from Plato's *Symposium* 217e, where Alcibiades compares the bite of a viper to the pain he had as he was bitten (δηχθείς) by Socrates' sexual refusal.

[50] Behr deletes this passage. See also B. Keil's edition (*Aelii Aristidis, quae supersunt omnia*, vol. II, 1963).

[51] Written shortly after January AD 177 (Behr). Boulanger calls this speech 'un véritable discours funèbre' (1968, 325). By that time Aristides has sent his *Letter to the Emperors* asking help for the ruined city. The 'romance' seems to change slightly here; the hero in love, unable to save his beloved, turns for help to someone stronger.

> of the heights, its southern extremity elevated, everywhere level and imperceptibility ending in the Acropolis.

That was the former state of the city. Now the city lies in ruins, and 'the harbours long for the embrance (*angalas*) of their city most dear' (6).[52] In his *Palinode for Smyrna*, a text written by 178 AD,[53] while the reconstruction of the city was under way, Aristides is eager to cease his mourning over it, since Smyrna is destined to refind its glorious past, by the gods' will and by the help of its new founders, the emperors Marcus and Commodus. Smyrna seemed to have more 'lovers' in the past, and none of them had any reason to be ashamed of her. 'Come now,' he says,

> let us also consider the circumstances of our own city, whether it was ever proper for any if its lovers to have been ashamed of it. Up to this time it had stood, as it were, an example of beauty, enthralling at first sight those coming to it by land or sea (14).

The city seems always to attract people by its beauty,[54] and its *physis* is proved continuously erotic: both *her* new founders are in love with it, but *she* too desires them; *her* harbours love to be embraced by *her*, and *she*, in turn, accepts their adornment. 'A third hand,'[55] he writes, '

> that of those who are in every way triumphant, now raises it up and puts it together. Because of their love (*eroti*) for the existing city ... they are restoring it upon its remains. The nature of the city ... also desired a pair of founders. The harbours are getting back the embrace of their most beloved city, and it in turn is adorned by them.

With his *Smyrnaean Oration* II (D. XXII), a lovely text written in AD 179, when the rebuilding of Smyrna was already completed, Aristides lauds his beloved city for the last time. This new encomium for Smyrna is addressed to his Excellency P.C. Maximus Paulinus, the new governor of the city, while Aristides is absent in Mysia. Aristides had not returned to the city

---

[52] Cf. the bodily harmony of the city to the description of the Aegean sea (*Regarding the Aegean Sea*, Dind. xvii, 17): 'Just as both the beginning and end of a handsome body are seemly, so too it may be that both the beginning and end of this sea alone are pleasing. For it begins with its first chain of islands in the south and ends in the straits of the Hellespont, about which it flows and makes a peninsula worth seeing. Therefore, as the expression goes, its beauty extends "from head to foot".' See Behr' s note *ad loc.* There is a similar description of the σῶμα τῆς πόλεως (Athens) in *Panath.* 99.5ff. (D.). For the σῶμα τῆς πόλεως see also Aristides' *To the Rhodians: concerning Concord*, 567.14 (D.). Oliver (1968, 95) believes that 'the σῶμα which Aristides uses is applied to the universe in the phrase ἓν σῶμα.' In the *Smyrnean Oration* ii (271. 5ff, D.) Smyrna is again described not just as a harmonious living *soma*, but as a *soma* which was fitted together by the sound of music, like the Theban wall.

[53] Behr 1981, 360.

[54] The same picture appears in the *Smyrnean Oration* i.

[55] See Behr's notes *ad loc.* (1981, 361). Cf. Poseidon's *eros* for Athens, *Panath Oration*. 107.17f. (D.).

during its reconstruction,[56] and consequently he is describing it from all he knew only by reports. On the other hand, speaking about the old beautiful Smyrna, before its destruction, his writing is based on memory, as Behr believes, without consulting his original copy of the *Smyrnaean Oration* I. Thus, Aristides (who died two years later, having not seen Smyrna again) seems to keep the picture of a ideal and invariable city inside him: 'The city seems not to have fared far differently from the myth which was told about its founder'; it is reborn like the mythic king Pelops. 'He was cut up limb by limb, boiled in a cauldron, and taken from the cauldron was put back together anew ... So for the city ... its second composition has achieved a wonderful excess of beauty' (D. XXII 272ff.). At the end of this oration, Aristides refers to the Meles river, which was greatly praised in *Oration* I for two reasons (14): on the one hand the river is said to be the father of Homer, and, on the other, it is an adornment (*kosmos*) for the city, a flowing bath for the Nymphs and offers recreation and joy to the citizens. Then the Meles is extolled for another reason (D. XXII 273 ff.): the river is the real, the eternal and the inseparable lover of Smyrna. I sing, Aristides says, my song (*prosmeloidesai*) to Meles like 'those maddened by the Nymphs' (*nympholeptoi*), although I did not propose to do so. The whole passage recalls how Socrates begins his dithyrambic speech on the supernatural power of love and its evil effects on the soul of the lovers (*Phaedrus* 238c 6). The same dithyrambic tone is in Aristides' speech, and, although there is no doubt that he copies Socrates, we must not ignore his *intention* to do so.

> Indeed, the Meles is not erratic, nor such as to wander off its course, but it is a sort of lover of the city (*erastei tini tes poleos*),[57] who does not dare to be farther apart from it; for it has, I think, a ceaseless love for it (*asbeston autes ton erota*) and guards it ceaselessly, so that it begins and ends here, stretching itself, as it were, besides the city's leg (!).

What Aristides actually does in this passage is to enumerate the best qualities of a true lover: he is always close to the beloved, he shows inextinguishable love, ceaseless protection, tenderness and passion. Can Aristides furnish such a quality of love to Smyrna, while he is aged and weak, and continuously absent from the city, as he acknowlegdes at the beginning of this oration? He is just a *nympholeptos* who can say farewell to his beloved, happy to put *her* in the charge of Meles, the eternal and harmless lover of the city.[58]

---

[56] Behr 1981, 361f.

[57] In Achilles Tatius (1.18) Alpheus, the river of Elis, is another lover (*erastes potamos*), who traverses the sea to meet his beloved spring Arethusa, in Sicily.

[58] Kosmas Politis, a very well-known Greek writer born in Smyrna in 1888, in his novel *In the Hatzifrangou Quarter* (ed. with an introduction by Peter Mackridge, Athens, Ermis, 1988, first pub. 1962) recalls with nostalgia the cosmopolitan atmosphere and life in his city, before its

A postscript

This imagery concerning the notion of 'love' towards the city or the country (or the nation in later times) continues to appear in Greek and European literature. Yet, further than literature, this 'love' also appears throughout modern Greek history as a historical and political idea, occasionally as an empty rhetorical expression and not uncommonly as a dangerous demagogical manifestation. For example, the nineteenth-century philhellenes' romanticism-influenced image of Greece is that of a beautiful but weak maiden relying on the kindness of foreigners. Also frequent are overtures full of passion and words of love towards Greece, a beautiful and attractive woman (and also a mother), in the great Greek nineteenth-century poets such as the Byronic Dionysios Solomos and the neoclassicist Andreas Calvos, but also from Greek independence fighters in their journals and narrations. Besides, the politicians' love and desire for Greece (as well as their love and desire for Freedom, also personified) often sustains a type of romance, which sometimes remains idealized and honest, but sometimes evolves to the levels of demagogy and totalitarianism.

catastrophe in 1922. The Meles river is mentioned, of course, in the novel. See Roderick Beaton, *An Introduction to Modern Greek Literature*, Oxford 1994, 249f.

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

19

Personification in an impersonal context: late Roman bureaucracy and the illustrated *Notitia dignitatum**

Iskra Gencheva-Mikami

The meaning of the Latin word *persona* appears to be obvious. Its modern sense, however, is quite different from the ancient one: as is well known, the Latin *persona* means first of all 'a mask' when used of the actors in any kind of performance, comic or tragic, and secondly 'any character in a play' including so-called *mutae personae*.[1] We may also note the famous dictum of Edward Gibbon about the 'splendid theatre' of the late Roman bureaucracy 'filled with players of every character and degree'.[2] The question I would like to pose is: how was this performance organized with respect to its two most essential components: 'making the players' and 'making their masks', if we follow *ad litteras* the meaning of the term 'personification'?

Fortunately, we have an invaluable source to give some probable answers to these questions – the document widely known as the *Notitia dignitatum*.[3] In the context of the questions stated above, the illustrated manuscripts[4] of

---

* To Professor Bogdan Bogdanov who opened for me the way to the Greek World, with my deepest gratitude on his 60th birthday (November 2000).

[1] *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, p. 1356, vd. *persona*.

[2] Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J.B. Bury, vol. 2, ch. 17, 170.

[3] The title *Notitia dignitatum* becomes commonly used from mid-19th century.

[4] There are five important illustrated versions of the *Notitia Dignitatum*. Two of them are preserved in British Libraries – the *Oxoniensis*, Canon. Misc. 378 in the manuscript collection of the Bodleian, while the so-called 'Fitzwilliam Leaves' (MS.86.1972) belongs to the Manuscript Department of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. The other three are preserved in the National Library in Paris (*Parisinus*, Cod. Lat. 9661), the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (*Monacensis*, Clm.10291) and the Vatican Apostolic Library (*Vaticanus-Barberinianus* 157). I gratefully acknowledge the generous assistance of the Dr M. Aylwin Cotton Foundation (UK), whose financial support made possible my research on the illustrated manuscripts of the *Notitia Dignitatum*, as well as the invaluable help of many colleagues and institutions in Britain,

From *Personification In The Greek World: From Antiquity To Byzantium*, eds Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Copyright © 2005 by Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Published by Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, UK.

this document are particularly informative, since they bring together both text and illustrations.[5] A long and monotonous listing of anonymous office holders coexists in the illustrated *Notitia* with richly coloured representations. While this coexistence suggests a contradiction between impersonality and personification, it is, however, only contradictory at first sight, because through this seeming incompatibility the illustrated manuscripts of the *Notitia* symbolize the main tendencies of late antiquity: unification, i.e. the impersonal elements united in the state system, and diversity.

In the body of the text, the *Notitia* has firmly established and strictly followed formulas, which are challenged by colourful representations,[6] normally found at the beginning of each section of the document. There is only one important exception to this way of structuring the *Notitia*. Between the two parts – *pars Orientis* and *pars Occidentis* – appear two paired illustrations facing each other. These closely resemble the images at the end of the *Calendar of 354*, which have imperial busts associated with pedimental structures.[7] Each of these pages shows an *armarium* belonging probably to the *sacra scrinia* of the imperial court of the eastern and western parts of the Empire.[8] In these book-cupboards with a shrine-like structure there are

Germany and the United States. I owe deepest gratitude to the kindness of Professor Fergus Millar, Brasenose College, Oxford and Dr B. Barker-Benfield, Bodleian Library, in helping my work – they made possible access to the invaluable Bodleian copy of the *Notitia*. I was able to consult the so-called Fitzwilliam Leaves thanks to the assistance of the Manuscript Department of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. The Munich and Vatican copies I examined on microfilm. I am grateful to the Manuscript Department of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich for providing me with a colour microfilm of the *Notitia*; the Vatican copy was made available to me thanks to the assistance of the CMRS and the Vatican Film Library – St. Louis University, Missouri, and more particularly of Dr David Murphy, director of the CMRS, Professor Ch. Ermatinger and Dr Gregory Pass from the Vatican Film Library at the St. Louis University. Unfortunately, I could use only a hard facsimile of the copy preserved in Paris.

[5] There is a still open scholarly discussion about the origin of the text and the illustrations of the *Notitia*. Without any intention of intervening in this problematic debate here, I would like to suggest that the hypothesis of the separate origin of the text and illustrations of the document, which supposedly belong to separate codices, is rather unconvincing. The undividable amalgam of text and image presented in the illustrated manuscripts of the *Notitia*, which forms the unique narrative language of the document, interpreting image through text and text through image, makes the hypothesis of the simultaneous origin, or at least the simultaneous compiling of the text and illustrations of the *Notitia* more acceptable.

[6] The illustrations of the *Notitia dignitatum* are studied independently in the valuable works of Grigg (1979, 1983 and 1987), Berger (1981) and Alexander (1976). There are no major publications, however, which examine the text/illustration problem without concentrating on either text analysis or iconography.

[7] *Furius Dionysius Filocalus (Philocalos)*, ed. Th. Mommsen MGH AA 9.1, Berlin 1892; *CIL* I 1.2, 254 ff; Stern 1953.

[8] See Weitzmann 1977.

codicillar[9]-type documents placed on different shelves. If we suppose that what is here depicted are the *libri mandatorum*[10] and *epistolae*, they seem to have been placed diagonally intentionally, so that their format is most clearly visible.

At the top of each pediment we find a *clipeus* supported by the representations of two figures – either *genii*, or victories. Within each *clipeus* there is a bust, possibly imperial, while in the corner medallions of both frames there are respectively four personifications of the basic Roman imperial virtues – Virtus, Scientia rei militaris, Auctoritas, Felicitas, and the four seasons – Vernus, Aestas, Hiems, Autumnus. Above the medallions there are inscriptions emphasizing the qualities, which might be attributed to the emperor as an embodiment of divine justice and lawful governing, as well as the divinely inspired appointer of the imperial officials – *Divina Providentia*, *Divina Electio*.

The four personifications of the basic imperial qualities – Virtus, Scientia rei militaris, Auctoritas, Felicitas – correspond to the divine ability of the emperor to foresee and foreknow the political developments that are requisite for the state's good health. Indeed, Cicero associated these four qualities with the idea of the perfect ruler. However, when this late Republican model of the perfect ruler[11] is compared to that of the *Notitia*, a slight but essential difference is revealed. In some of the illustrated manuscripts of the *Notitia* there is iconographical emphasis on the upper busts,[12] which are larger and seem intentionally more exposed to the viewer. Stress is not placed equally on all four traditional qualities but only on two of them – Virtus and Scientia rei militaris.

If we admit, therefore, that preference is given in the *Notitia* to the qualities which are connected more with the military functions of the emperor – note especially Virtus's appearance in a military cloak (*chlamus*) in the Bodleian and Paris illustrated copies of the document – rather than with those referring to his civil role (Auctoritas, Felicitas),[13] we can reasonably find this imbalance of military and civil personifications reflected as well in the structure of the document. As is widely known, the *Notitia* is divided between the two hierarchies – military and civil. The inscriptions over the medallions – *Divina Electio* and *Divina Providentia* – are probably supposed to emphasize the divine ability of the emperor not only to choose the proper

[9] See Delbrück 1929, 3–10; Mann 1976, 1; cf. CTh VI.22.5 and XV.9.1.

[10] On the *Libri Mandatorum*, see CTh VI.29.10; Just., *Novellae* XVII, *Praefatio*; XXVI.5.

[11] Cf. Cicero, *De imperio Cn. Pompei (Oratio pro lege Manilia): Ego enim sic existimo, in summo imperatore quattuor has res inesse oportere: scientia rei militaris, virtutem, auctoritatem, felicitatem.*

[12] This asymmetry is most visible in the *Monacensis, Clm. 10291*.

[13] See *Latini Pacati Drepanii Panegyricus Theodosio Augusto Dictus* XII.6, in *Panégyriques Latins*, ed. E. Galletier, Paris 1949–55, 73.

officials, who receive their diplomas of appointment from him but also to give proper advice to them in the *Libri mandatorum*.

Personifications of the four seasons, which appear at the corners of the *armarium* on the *Divina Electio* page,[14] are intended to add a sense of stability and eternity through the metaphorical use of the everlasting cycle of Nature. The four season busts are represented in a three-quarter view typical of late antiquity. The colour spectrum of these paired illustrations is intended to deepen the atmosphere of sacredness surrounding the emperor – in some illustrated manuscripts of the *Notitia* colours like yellow, gold or light brown are used here.[15] The text underlines this impression through frequent use of such words as *sacra* and/or *divina*.

This section of the *Notitia*, which is supposed to convey the emperor's eternal wisdom and the divinely inspired foreknowledge that allows him to select appropriate officials for the state bureaucratic structures, is enriched by reference to the state officials themselves.

The Greek world is presented in the *Notitia* through separate subdivisions in the *pars Orientis* section dedicated to administrative units on different levels, diocesan Macedonia and provincial Achaia. Analysis of the text shows the province of Achaia mentioned first among the provinces of the Macedonian diocese, and then completely omitted in other sections of the *Notitia*,[16] where the Macedonian provinces are again listed.

In turn, the case of Macedonia has its own discrepancies. It appears together with Dacia in the *insignia* of the prefect *per Illyricum* as a nearly full-page female figure with an identifying label over her head. In the textual body of the same section, which is just below the illustrative one, both diocesan names are explicitly mentioned. But these two 'players' are not of the same 'degree', if we follow the dictum of Edward Gibbon. The Macedonian personification is quite different when compared not only to that of Dacia, but also to all other personified dioceses. The only exception is *Italia*, which shows certain similarities to Macedonia.

The female representation of Macedonia wears the characteristically late antique mural crown, short over-tunics and a separate veil, which covers only one hand carrying the bowls of tribute. All other personified dioceses hold the same bowls of tribute in hands veiled just by a cloak. If we admit, then, that the bare and veiled hands are supposed to show a different level of

[14] See Hanfmann 1951, vol. I, 212 and 266; vol. II, 114.

[15] Berger 1981 suggests that the yellow and light brown colours which we can see now e.g. in the Fitzwilliam Leaves, are what have survived from the original gold colouring. In the Bodleian and Munich copies of the illustrated manuscripts of the *Notitia* gold is perfectly well preserved. (The Vatican copy was not consulted by the author: the Vatican Film Library at the University of St. Louis, MO possessed only a black-and-white microfilm of this manuscript.)

[16] Cf. *caput* III and 24a, *Notitia* of the East; ed. Boecking.

respect,[17] we can reasonably suppose a different status for these dioceses: slightly higher for Macedonia, and paralleled only by Italia in the *Notitia.*

The personified dioceses carrying full bowls, which are symbolic of wealth in coin, underline important financial aspects of the office of the praetorian prefect. It is well known that the exercise of these financial duties by the prefects was possible only through the large staff of accountants attached to the financial bureau of each diocese. Since, however, the annual taxes were collected first at the provincial level by the respective local governors, then forwarded to the offices of the diocesan vicars in order to be transferred finally to the central financial department of the praetorian prefect, the illustrations in the *Notitia* show the tribute due to the emperor. The *insignia* of each vicar, therefore, are particularly informative about this financial hierarchy in late antiquity, and we can only regret that, except for the personification of Macedonia appearing together with Dacia, we have no other illustrative section preserved for the Macedonian vicar.

Fortunately, there are no such gaps for the province of Achaia. It appears in the *pars Orientis* of the *Notitia* with a separate section, which is exceptional for a mere province. There is no other single representation in the eastern *Notitia* of an administrative unit of the same rank. The illustrative section of this chapter represents a female personification of Achaia as well as the *insignia* of its provincial governor. The personified Achaia appears as a single female carrying the tax tribute. The singleness and the size of the figure makes it possible to show her garments in more detail. She wears typical late antique attire, an under-tunic with *clavi* adorned with small circles and a heavy mantle draped around the left shoulder and the lower part of the body. The *theca*,[18] which symbolizes the judicial authority of the *proconsul*, is a part of the *insignia*. In the illustrated copies of the *Notitia*, the preferred colour for the *theca* is either light yellow and brown, or even gold,[19] another sign of honour.

The text of the Achaia section presents the province and its governor in a particularly favourable position as part of the imperial administrative structure. If we compare the *officium* of the Macedonian vicar with that of the Achaian proconsul, we can find only insignificant differences. The textual data are as follows:[20]

[17] Such a suggestion, although in a different context, is found in the iconographical analysis by Berger 1981.

[18] On the Greek term *theca* and its interpretation, see Berger 1981, 284–5.

[19] See above n.16.

[20] The *officium* of the Macedonian vicar and the Achaian proconsul is cited as it appears in the chapters XIX and 24a of the *Notitia: pars Orientis*, ed. Böcking.

– diocese of Macedonia: *principem qui de Schola Agentum in Rebus ... ; Cornicularium, Commentariensem, Adiutorem, Ab actis, Numerarios, Exceptores.*
– province of Achaia: *principem de Schola Agentum in Rebus Ducenarium qui adorata clementia principali cum insignibus exit transacto biennio; Cornicularium, Commentariensem, Adiutorem, Ab Actis, Numerarios, Exceptores.*

The few and insignificant differences turn on the reference for the Macedonian vicar to *Cura Epistolarum ... et ceteros officiales*, while for the Achaian proconsul, this reads *Quastorem, A Libellis ... et ceteros Apparitores*, i.e. the *officium* of the Achaian proconsul is almost identical with that of the Macedonian vicar. Indeed, in the monotonously structured textual body of the *Notitia* such similarities and almost verbatim reproduction of textual formulas are not an exception, but rather the rule. However, in the case of Macedonia and Achaia, this puts two administrative units (province and diocese) of different hierarchical positions, on roughly the same level, which is only partly explicable through the standardised structuring of the *Notitia*.

If we consider this point in the light of other evidence about the proconsul of Achaia, it confirms doubts about whether he was immediately responsible to the emperor (like the proconsuls of Asia and Africa), or *sub vicario Macedoniae*.[21] The iconographical and textual data of the *Notitia* about late Roman Achaia are supported by other contemporary data – epigraphical and literary, which show the Hellenic province as a prestigious, powerful and influential administrative unit, especially during the fourth century, when there is plenty of evidence about Achaian governors.[22] The only parallels for such a prominent provincial status in the *Notitia* are Asia and Africa, but such a comparison adds more questions, because Achaia is neither as vast nor as rich as Asia or Africa. There therefore must be some other reason for later Roman emperors favouring the Hellenic province, which may possibly vary in details according to the certain political reality. How far this political reality corresponds, however, to so-called 'historical reality' of those times, we can only speculate. But the sharp contrast between the state organization, as it is presented in the *Notitia*, and other sources casts some doubt on the reliability of this document. Comparing their data looks like comparing antonyms – the well-balanced state organization in the *Notitia* finds hardly any confirmation in contemporary historical writings. And even if we ignore the evidence of authors who are most fiercely critical of the later Roman empire, there are sufficient grounds to doubt the state structure as it is revealed in the *Notitia*.

Reconsidering the *Notitia* in their late antique context, it is possible to suggest that they represent an autonomous kind of written historical source, which might be defined as a documentary panegyric. This kind of late

[21] Ed. Böcking, *Annotatio ad Notitiam Orientis*, p. 290 (commentary to *caput* 24a, γ).
[22] For a detailed analysis of this problem, see my monograph (Gencheva forthcoming a).

Roman panegyric reflects all the spaces of the bureaucratic system, and penetrates all the other spheres of contemporary reality through the official authorities.[23] And if we can call this a '*Notitia* reality', our document reveals one other particular function – that of a diligently elaborated ideological screenplay, where not only 'players of every character and degree', but also masks of a great variety, form another level through which officially approved formulas were imposed on the public. What makes our document even more enigmatic and elusive, however, is the challenge of recognizing where the real players appear and where only their masks.

The 'splendid theatre' of the illustrated *Notitia* can hardly leave the audience indifferent. Its puzzling pictorial and textual narrative presents – through the personified impersonality of the *Notitia*'s theatrical eloquence – the diversity of the intellectual atmosphere of Late Antiquity. The *Notitia* can therefore be read both as a screenplay for the most magnificent and lavish state spectacle, which was played out for public admiration at the proscenium itself, and also as a spectacle with a great number of differently ranked players costumed and masked according to their role in this colourful ceremonial performance, which we now call in a quite colourless way, 'A Register of Dignitaries'.

[23] For discussion of the *Notitia* in the context of the panegyrics of late antiquity, see Gencheva forthcoming b. In this article the author introduces and makes an attempt to define the term 'documentary panegyric' in relation to the *Notitia*.

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

20

Good Luck and Good Fortune to the Queen of Cities: empresses and Tyches in Byzantium

Liz James

The familiar image of a Byzantine empress is of a figure elaborately robed, crowned and dripping with jewels, both encrusted on her robes and in the form of necklace or collar, earrings and diadem, adorned in purple and gold, maybe holding a sceptre or some other token of majesty. It is a representation perhaps encapsulated in the sixth-century mosaic from the church of San Vitale in Ravenna of the empress Theodora (fig. 20.1), or in two ivory plaques depicting empresses, one in Florence and one in Vienna, but it is a representation which recurs time and again in media from ivories and coins to mosaics and statues. However, such an iconography did not spring fully-formed into being. Roman empresses were depicted as noble women, in the gowns of aristocratic females, with elaborate coiffeurs, perhaps holding scrolls, sometimes with fillets holding their hair, occasionally with diadems or crowns, even turreted crowns.[1] Such imagery continued into the fourth century, as the Louvre statuette of an empress, often identified as Flaccilla, reveals.[2] Evidence from coins of empresses from Helena in the early fourth to Ariadne in the late fifth century allows us to see an increasing elaboration of female dress throughout this period and it seems that by the fifth century, empresses had acquired the jewelled robes, diadems, elaborate collars and earrings visible in the image of Theodora.[3]

The derivation of this dress and its relation to a display of imperial majesty and power has been little discussed; the unspoken assumption appears to be that because the empress is shown wearing these garments,

[1] See Wood 1999.

[2] Described in Durand et al 1992, cat. 4 p. 36.

[3] On Late Antique empresses on coins, see Brubaker and Tobler 2000.

From *Personification In The Greek World: From Antiquity To Byzantium*, eds Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Copyright © 2005 by Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Published by Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, UK.

then this is actually what empresses wore.[4] The nature of the empress' appearance is rarely treated in iconographic terms but rather as established fact. This contrasts with discussion of male imperial dress, where the details of iconography have been teased out to a greater extent.[5] In Byzantium, because it is generally accepted that the fundamental role of imperial art was to magnify the supreme power of the emperor, details of the emperor's appearance, his costume, pose and attributes have all been analysed in this context and iconographic borrowings from Roman imperial and divine art noted.[6] Thus, with the Barberini ivory, for example, the assemblage of which the emperor is the focus, his appearance and his relationship to the figures around him have been analysed, but it is not assumed that his costume is necessarily that worn by a fifth or sixth century emperor. Rather, the significance of portraying an emperor in Roman-style military dress, and the resonances such dress might hold in the sixth century, is discussed.[7] Female imperial iconography in this period has not been considered in the same way, as if the same considerations that underpin the form of male imperial representation are irrelevant. While it may be that the familiar depiction of an empress does portray simply 'what empresses wore', this paper will suggest that female imperial clothing, like male, carried rather more significance than that. I shall examine some potential sources from where female imperial iconography might have been drawn, and consider the consequences of such borrowings.

In fifth-century objects such as the Clementinus diptych or the leaf of a diptych of Anastasios (fig. 20.2), the image of the empress appears in a roundel in the upper part of the ivory. She is depicted with an elaborate square-shaped crown, pearl pendillia and earrings and an elaborate jewelled collar.[8] This iconography is repeated in the fifth-century ivory plaques now in Florence and Vienna.[9] Here, a full-length figure of an empress appears, standing in the Florence ivory, enthroned in the Vienna piece. Her robes are elaborate and jewelled and she again wears a diadem with jewelled pendillia, earrings and an elaborate jewelled collar. In these instances, she also holds a *globus cruciger* and, in the Florence example, a sceptre, whilst in the Vienna

[4] James 2001 deals with this in more detail.

[5] For the Roman period, Zanker 1990 on Augustus' construction of his public persona is a key text. For Byzantium, the starting point is Grabar 1936. For a discussion of Byzantine imperial dress on coins which makes no distinction between men and women, see Galavaris 1958.

[6] Grabar, 1936.

[7] See Cutler 1991 on meanings, and the detailed bibliography there.

[8] The Clementinus diptych is in the Liverpool City Museum and Art Gallery and described in Gibson 1994, no. 8, pp. 19–22 and plates VIIIa and b. For the leaf of the diptych of Anastasios in the Victoria and Albert Museum, see Williamson, ed. 1996, 52–3.

[9] For the Vienna ivory, see Delbrück 1929, no. 52; for the Florence piece, Volbach 1952, no. 51.

ivory, her empty right hand is extended sideways, palm outwards. This iconography of rich jewelled collar, or necklace, earrings and diadem is repeated time and again in female imperial imagery and is, moreover, an iconography restricted to empresses. These are not features found on images of noblewomen.[10] The question is: are such features found on any other form of female imagery in this late antique period? Might such an iconography have carried resonances beyond the representation of imperial women?

A group of images of women dating from the late Roman period into the eighth and ninth centuries does share this iconography. A female figure, almost invariably shown in bust form, wearing rich, elaborate jewellery, necklaces or collars, earrings and diadems is found in media as varied as textiles, bone, metal and mosaic. A fifth-century textile in the Louvre's collection depicts a haloed female bust wearing diadem, earrings, necklace and chiton and himation.[11] Several Coptic textiles now in Washington and also dated to the fifth century also represent similar bust female figures with diadems, earrings and elaborate jewellery around the neck, and figures with orbs and sceptres (fig. 20.3).[12] Textiles continue to portray these female figures with their jewelled collars, earrings and other signifiers of wealth into the ninth century.[13] Similar images are also found on late antique floor mosaics from Syria and North Africa.[14] A gold pendant in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts depicts a similarly adorned female bust holding a cloth filled with fruits, and a gold roundel in the Dumbarton Oaks collection portrays a female bust with earrings and necklace and what has been identified as a turreted crown.[15] A comb in the Benaki Museum, dated to the fifth century, depicts a gowned female figure, one breast bare, enthroned beneath a canopy supported by twisted columns. She holds an orb and sceptre and wears a helmet-style headdress, and has been identified as a city personification. On the other side of the comb, a figure in a chiton and a

[10] Surviving images of noblewomen from this period are very different: the bust now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York dated to the late fifth/early sixth century and the portrait of Anicia Juliana in the Vienna manuscript of the *Herbal* of Dioscorides (Vienna Nationalbibliothek cod.med.gr.1) depict women holding scrolls, and wearing tunics and palla, with restrained, elegant jewels and small diadems.

[11] Du Bourguet 1964, B 21, p. 73.

[12] See Trilling 1982, 'Fortuna': nos 6 and 7, p. 33; tyches: nos 5 and 39 p. 32 and 55.

[13] Du Bourget 1964, e.g. E 30 and 31, p. 197; F 230, 231, p. 333.

[14] See, for example, mosaics from the House of Gē and the Seasons, Daphne, fifth century and now in the Worcester Art Museum, 1936.35, illustrated in Levi 1947, vol. 1, 347 and vol. 2 pls LXXXII and CLXIX (*infra* fig. 16.7); the mosaic of Megalopsychia from the Yakto complex: Levi 1947, v.1, 338, v.2, pl. LXXVI (*infra* fig. 16.3); and the mosaic of Ktisis from the House of Ktisis, Levi 1947, v.1, 358 and v.2, pl. LXXXV (*infra* fig. 16.10). See Leader-Newby's discussion, *infra* pp. 210–11.

[15] Kondoleon 1987; Ross 1965, cat. 32, pp. 31–2 and pl. 26. Cat 166A, pl. 79, from the Olbia Treasure is a necklace with similar female busts in a repoussé design.

himation, with a castle-shaped crown, holds a cornucopia but extends her right hand, palm outwards, in a similar gesture to the Vienna empress.[16]

These female busts sometimes bear labels. These may be Ge ('Earth'), Fortuna, Ktisis ('Foundation'), the Hearth Rich in Blessings, Good Fortune. Where unlabelled, scholars have applied descriptions such as 'Wealth-Bringing Woman' or 'Nature goddess', especially when the figure is associated with a cornucopia.[17] They are frequently compared to images of empresses. A brooch from a sixth-seventh century Lombard burial has been compared to the empress on the Orestes diptych in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and also to the Justin and Sophia cross in the Vatican;[18] the Dumbarton Oaks roundel has also been compared to the Justin and Sophia cross; and the female bust on a seventh-century silk from the tomb of St Cuthbert with Theodora from San Vitale, with the Florence ivory and with the empress on the Orestes diptych.[19] However, when unidentified, it may be impossible for us to be certain whether these are images of 'Good Fortune' or 'Wealth-Bringing Women' or images of empresses. A mosaic from Carthage shows a haloed female figure with diadem, rich robes and distinctive fibula, holding a sceptre in her left hand and making the speech gesture across the body with her right.[20] Dress, attributes and gesture suggest she could as well be an empress as a personification. The Lombard brooch figure might represent an empress. Similarly, at Trier, scholars have been unable to decide whether the women represented in the paintings of the palace ceiling are members of the imperial family or personifications.[21] Certainly the figure depicted there holding a jewel-box and necklace could as well be a 'Wealth-Bringing Woman' type as an empress. Thus there is a close iconographic parallel between images of empresses and images of Good Fortune, one that, if apparent to us, must also have been visible in late antiquity.

Since such images carried their meanings with them, this carries resonances for representations of empresses. The personifications of Earth, of Good Fortune, of Wealth-Bringing Woman were all apotropaic images invoking health and wealth and bringing good luck and protection. Christine Kondoleon has associated the Virginia pendant with images of Ge and with personifications of the Seasons and has shown how such images were used on coins in the Roman world to associate the reigning emperor with the bounty of the world and its good order. Henry Maguire has discussed how

[16] No. 30, p. 146 in *Byzantine Art* 1964

[17] Maguire 1987 discusses a range of textiles, both identified and unidentified, and dating between the fourth and ninth centuries.

[18] Maj 1961.

[19] By J.F. Flanagan in Battiscombe ed. 1956, 505–08 and pl. 53.

[20] In the Musée du Bardo and illustrated in St. Clair 1996, 151 and fig. 12.

[21] Lavin 1967; Simon 1986.

textile examples of these personifications were attached to clothing to deflect evil and bring good luck, serving for protection and good fortune.[22] It is clear that, however identified, these female busts form a nexus of overlapping meanings, which centre around the blessings of the fruitful Earth and the more abstract generalization of the image of a richly dressed woman, carrying with it all the beneficent associations of all the wealth-bringing female personifications.[23] The use of this figure on floor mosaics, on lamps, on jewellery, on textiles and combs offers a sense of how widely she was used in late antiquity and how significant a representation she was. To find an echo of her iconography in that used for empresses should not therefore be surprising. To link the empress with the bringing of wealth and good fortune to the empire fits well with Byzantine imperial ideology. The concept that good things came to the land and the people because of the emperor and his virtues remained prevalent throughout the Byzantine period. As Menander Rhetor put it: 'Rains in season, abundance from the sea, unstinting harvests come happily to us because of the emperor's justice.'[24] The righteous Christian emperor as God's regent provided the same force for good and demanded the same respect and veneration.

Other associations in female imperial iconography are also visible. Images of 'Earth' tend to hold cornucopiae; images of empresses do not. Rather, where shown with attributes, they tend to wield orbs and sceptres. Both of these objects feature in male imperial iconography. On the Missorium of Theodosios, for example, emperors are shown holding globes without crosses. The *globus cruciger*, however, only appears briefly on coins of Theodosios II from the late 420s, and does not become a standard element of male imperial iconography until the reign of Justinian, where it is also used in other media.[25] Indeed, the Florence and Vienna ivories are two of the earliest representations of an imperial figure with *globus cruciger*. On coins, the *globus cruciger* is also a slightly unusual attribute, for it is not invariably present; if more than one emperor is present on the coin, then the junior of the two always holds it; if an emperor holds more than one object, the *globus cruciger* is always in his left hand. It is thus a less important symbol of imperial power, held by juniors or in the less-important hand, and perhaps serves as a symbol of imperial authority, rather than a tangible part of the imperial regalia.[26] Sceptres too are unusual elements of male imperial iconography. They are not commonly held by emperors on coins in the early

[22] Maguire 1990.

[23] As Maguire 1987, 227 suggests.

[24] Menander Rhetor, 377. For a sixth-century example, see Agapetos, *Ekthesis*, 1163–85, with a partial English translation in Barker 1957.

[25] Procopios describes the mounted bronze statue of Justinian in front of Hagia Sophia as carrying a *globus cruciger* in its left hand, *Buildings* 12.12.

[26] Bellinger and Grierson 1968, 88–6.

Byzantine period, and it appears that they played a relatively minor role in Byzantine ceremonial until the eleventh century.[27]

However, both the *globus cruciger* and the sceptre are regularly found in a variety of media, including coins, in the hands of personifications, above all Tyches and Victories, and in the hands of angels, from the fourth century onwards. By 343, for example, the Tyche of Constantinople on a solidus of Constantius II, carries a sceptre rather than a cornucopia of prosperity, and after 350, she is often portrayed with a globe, often a globe crowned by a victory.[28] Thus globes and sceptres are treated as attributes wielded by the Good Fortune of the City, by Victory, and even by God's messengers. In this way, city personifications can also be seen as contributing to female imperial imagery, but in a different way from Fortuna or the 'Wealth-Bringing Woman'. The city Tyche in her Classical or classicizing robes wears very different garments from Good Fortune or from the fifth-century empress, though tyches are portrayed with increasing amounts of jewellery, which have led to their comparison with images of empresses.[29]

Both tyches and Good Fortune share the same role, however; both are apotropaic personifications bringing good luck, wealth, well-being and protection to the city and to the individual. In this way, female imperial iconography shares at least two sources, both of which offer similar, messages that might be seen as suitable for an empress to offer the empire. Personifications represent an appropriate source for female imperial iconography on two counts. One lies in the problem of creating an iconography suitable for powerful women in a society which did not recognize that women could be powerful; the second lies in the suitability of the meanings that images of personifications carried with them.

Rome and Byzantium were societies which relegated women to a secondary role and preferred that women should not hold power, at least not publicly. Part of the explanation for the depiction of Roman empresses as noblewomen lies in the need or desire to show them as just that, noble women, who, although the wives of emperors, did not rise above their station and did not acquire any of the trappings of male power and prestige. However, the empress, as consort of the emperor, was still a woman in a powerful position, and her images, allied to his, presented the public face of imperial power.[30] Thus it was important that she appeared as significant rather than simply as mere woman, but it was also important that her

[27] Wessel 1978, esp. 455–69 on crowns and diadems, 469–71 on globes and 471–3 on sceptres.

[28] See Toynbee 1947, esp. 139–40. Also Strzygowski 1893, 144ff.

[29] The tyches from the Esquiline Treasure, for example, wear elaborate jewellery. See Toynbee 1947 for a comparison between images of tyches and the empress Helena. Also the discussion in Herrin 2000, 9–12.

[30] See the discussion in James 2001.

portrayal did not lead to women being elevated above their natural station. Where the iconography for emperors borrowed from that of gods and heroes to represent the emperor's fitness to rule, his success in war and in other manly actions, female imperial imagery could not echo such imagery.[31] Although, as R.R.R. Smith has argued convincingly, images of Hellenistic queens tend to be generalized versions of the prevailing ideas worked out for images of goddesses,[32] the imagery used for goddesses was less well-assimilated into imperial iconography. Where an image of Constantine as Sol Invictus might convey an image of triumph and power, an image of Helena as Juno, say, or Fausta as Venus, would be unlikely to have the same connotations, though some level of assimilation between images of empresses and goddesses does seem to have taken place. Perhaps less immediately charged than Venus or Minerva, and so more appropriate, were the representations of personifications.

Toynbee has suggested that after the conversion of Constantine, personifications survived where the gods did not because the gods had a real, objective and independent existence but personifications, as genii or daimones possessed secondary reflected characteristics and a symbolic godhead.[33] They stood for powers or virtues exercised or blessings bestowed by the gods or emperors on the empire, and therefore were to be preserved. A tyche represented both the existence and the spirit of a place, the communal dignity and the good fortune of that place within the empire. This is not the same thing as the existence of Venus or Jupiter. A similar argument might suggest why the attributes of personifications could be shared with empresses where the representation of god-like (and potentially male imperial) qualities could not. Personifications were a stage further removed from the 'real' world. To give an empress the attributes of 'Good Fortune' was not the same as giving her a spear or making her look like Venus. In this way, personifications represented a 'safe' source for female imperial iconography.

The advantage of this source was that it carried a powerful emotional charge. The extensive use of the imagery of Good Fortune has been noted and the same widespread use was true of tyches, particularly in official art.

---

[31] Even after the conversion of Constantine, pagan iconography, which had become, in effect, imperial iconography, continued. Constantine's monumental statue of himself as Sol is only one example. See e.g. L'Orange 1935. Price 1984, 180 notes that creation of imperial images could play on pre-existing images of the gods. The debate about whether the Romans actually believed that their emperors were gods and what they thought they were doing when they offered sacrifices to them as gods has barely been explored in the context of deified empresses. For late antique views, see Rodgers 1986; also see Corippus' sixth-century portrayal of Justin II, Corippus, *In laudem Iustini Augusti minoris*, ed. and tr. Cameron 1976.

[32] Smith 1988.

[33] Toynbee 1947.

They appear on consular diptychs throughout the fourth to sixth centuries, on monuments such as the fifth-century column of Arkadios in Constantinople, and in precious metals such as the figurines from the Esquiline Treasure. The intermingling of pagan and Christian motifs is an intrinsic feature of late antique art and personifications remained a feature of Byzantine Christian art throughout the period of the empire.[34] Indeed, concepts such as Christ as Holy Wisdom and Holy Peace (Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene) indicate a Christianization of personifications.[35] In this context, the reuse of Classical sculpture is also significant. In the Hippodrome in Constantinople, Bassett has identified four separate groups of images: apotropaic, victory figures, emperors, images of Rome. All four groups, however, are intrinsically connected in that they were perceived as playing a part in establishing and maintaining the well-being of the city.[36] Continuing references to tyches in written sources also reveal the unceasing need to preserve the prosperity and safety of cities, and suggest that they continued to play a part in civic life. In the mid-fourth century, a deacon of the Church swore an oath by the 'divine and holy tyche of our all-conquering lords', the emperors.[37] Isaac of Antioch in the fifth century bemoaned the continuation of sacrifices to the city tyche.[38] In Rome in the fifth century, it seems that Christians were accused of putting the city in danger by neglecting sacrifices to the tyche.[39] Zacharias of Mitylene, writing in the sixth century, records the Patriarch of Alexandria convoking a meeting of City Prefect, Senate and important people in front of the Tychaion of that city in order to destroy the idols brought in from Menouthis.[40] In the mid-sixth century, Symeon Stylites rebuked the pagans of Antioch for sacrificing to demons in the name of the good fortune (tyche) of the city, and the imperial tyche of the emperor continued to be invoked down to seventh century.[41] Constantine's foundation of Constantinople with his offerings to the city tyche are recalled in the sixth-century *Chronicon Pascale*, John Malalas' sixth-century *Chronicle* and the eighth-century *Parastaseis syntomoi*

[34] See Elsner 1999, and objects such as the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus and Projecta's casket from the Esquiline Treasure. At Ephesus, the father of Theodosios I was portrayed by a Christian governor in company with Artemis and Athena. On pagan survivals, see MacMullen 1997.

[35] See Huskinson 1974 on the use of images of figures such as Orpheus, Odysseus and Sol in Christian contexts.

[36] Bassett, 1991. Also on these themes, MacMullen 1981, 103–04, Saradi-Mendelovici 1990, James 1996.

[37] Cited in Bell at al. 1962, 20 and papyrus 36.

[38] Quoted in MacMullen 1997, 145 and n.138.

[39] See MacMullen 1997, 42, and n.30, p. 182. I have so far been unable to trace MacMullen's source.

[40] Zacharias of Mitylene, *Vie de Sévère*, 27–35.

[41] *Life* of Symeon Stylites the Younger, 1, 50, 57.

chronikai, suggesting this as a significant element of the city's creation and underlining the important protective role of the city tyche.[42]

Propitiating the city tyche was a means of securing one's own and one's city's well-being, and throughout late antiquity and into the Byzantine period, there seems to have been a pervasive sense of looking after the Good Fortune of a city to make sure it (or she) looked after the city.[43] It is in this context that we might also understand what Archer St Clair has seen as a continuation of the imperial cult through small-scale imperial images.[44] She has suggested that images of the emperor continued to be kept in household shrines even after the triumph of Christianity. Though this may simply indicate respect for the imperial family, it might also represent a survival of the imperial cult. Evidence suggests that, as with images of the city tyche and of Good Fortune, such imperial images were also believed to have magical powers and to serve an apotropaic function.[45] A sense of emperors as miracle-workers did not disappear with the onset of Christianity: Christian emperors continued to appear as emblems of power and prosperity.[46]

In this context, the associations between the emperor and the good fortune, wealth and well-being of the empire are apparent as a part of imperial ideology. Similarly, the iconography of female imperial imagery with its relation to that of Fortuna or 'Wealth-Bringing Woman' and its sharing of the attributes of tyches establishes the same connection. Making the image of an empress look like an image of 'Wealth-Bringing Woman' might serve to harness the powers of the latter to the former, thus making the empress a guarantee of the empire's well-being. By depicting empresses as tyches or sharing the attributes of tyches, they could be seen as taking over the power of the tyches, guarding the city in its place. The apotropaic and protective functions of such imagery is also apparent in the use of the

[42] *Chronicon Paschale*, 530; and tr. 1989, 17; John Malalas, *Chronographia*, 322; and tr. 1986, 175; *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai*, chs 5, 38, 56. *Chronicon Paschale* also describes the people of Constantinople invoking the 'tyche of the Christians' after an earthquake in the reign of Justinian, 629, tr. 1986, 128. See also the comments of Kantorowicz 1960.

[43] Writing in the thirteenth century, Nicetas Choniates describes the use of statues for apotropaic functions in Constantinople. See, for example, his account of the fate of the statues of the 'Roman woman' and the 'Hungarian woman', Nicetas Choniates, *Historia* 151.

[44] St. Clair 1996.

[45] On supernatural healing and protection, see MacMullen, 1997, 141–3. Also Saradi-Mendelovici 1990, James 1996.

[46] The question of whether Roman emperors were seen as gods by their subjects has attracted much debate. 'Real' gods or not, it is clear that emperors and gods were closely bound together in belief structures and that this link gave the position of emperor much power and responsibility. MacMullen, 1997, 56; Price 1980, 28–43. Liebeschuetz 1979, 282–5 discusses how emperors were not actually gods in the Roman world but enjoyed the close cooperation of the gods, and looks at the relation between Constantine and Sol, indicating a correlation between the role of one on earth and the other in heaven. Also see Brown 1995 and his use of Clifford Geertz on how élites govern.

empress on another piece of 'official' imagery, counterweights from the fourth-fifth century on. Many of these weights survive in the form of busts of women wearing diadem, necklace, earrings. These figures are conventionally identified as empresses, though the iconography fits the 'Wealth-Bringing Woman' almost as well. Such a fusion of imagery would seem highly appropriate on objects used in trade and exchange.[47] The link with goddesses and personifications stressed the power and almost magical significance of the weight and might also have served as a safeguard of validity. Significantly, during the Roman period, female images were also popular on counterweights, the goddess Athena/Minerva in particular being favoured, and tyches were common on flat weights.[48]

These images represent a blurring of the distinctions between empress and personification and even between empress and goddess apparent in both visual and textual sources, and in an unusual form of iconography of the Virgin Mary. The *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* reveals confusion in the eighth century over the identity of a statue, which some held to be a statue of the fifth-century empress Verina, but which others, including the author of the *Parastaseis*, held to be an image of Athena.[49] A eleventh-century manuscript, Codex Taphou 14 in the Patriarchal Library in Jerusalem, a copy of Pseudo-Nonnos' commentaries on the *Homilies* of Gregory Nazianzus, includes an image of the goddess Athena springing fully-formed from the head of Zeus.[50] Here Athena is depicted in what looks like female imperial dress. In this sense, the borrowings perhaps come full circle. Initially, the attributes of personifications were given to empresses in order to represent their power; then when pagan goddesses needed to be represented, the attributes of empresses were employed.

There is also a small group of images of the Virgin Mary, almost all from Rome, which depict her as an empress, that is to say, with the diadem, jewels and elaborate robes which form a part of female imperial iconography from the fifth century on.[51] These images have been interpreted in a political context. If, however, the links between female imperial iconography and Good Fortune are accepted, then it becomes possible to see them as images which also allude to Fortuna, invoking protection, prosperity and good luck for the city.[52] Indeed, Constantinople in the sixth and seventh centuries found its symbol, its new Christian tyche, in the form of the Virgin,

[47] See the argument in James 2003. Since this article was written, McClanan 2003, ch. 2 is an important discussion of empresses and steelyard weights.

[48] ed. Weitzmann 1979, cat. 325 and 326.

[49] *Parastaseis*, ch. 61.

[50] Illustrated in Weitzmann 1951, pl. 59.

[51] Osborne 1981 details these images.

[52] Stroll 1997, Kalas 1997.

though she was not dressed as an empress.[53] Elsewhere, several temples dedicated to Athena, most notably the Parthenon, were converted to churches dedicated to the Virgin.[54] Both Mary and Athena shared connections with Sophia, divine wisdom, and there is scope for exploring these connections further.

In building a way of depicting empresses, borrowings were made from the iconography of personifications, above all Good Fortune and the city tyche. This served to side-step the problem of representing powerful women in Byzantium. If images of Earth represented the bounty of earth under the emperor's protection, the empress as 'Wealth-Bringing Woman' was equally under his protection and her qualities were under his aegis. The shared iconography also allowed a key area of pagan belief about protection and fortune to be brought into imperial iconography. The collective iconography of Good Fortune and the empress, to the extent that we are unable to distinguish the two, vested images of the empress with the power of the personification and vice versa. By linking the empress with the good fortune of the city or with victory, these attributes of the personification could, in turn, become related to the empress and indeed to the cult of the imperial family. The empress became a personification, a symbol of the city and the empire's safety, a protector of the state, a guarantee of wealth and well-being throughout the empire a figure representing the powers and virtues bestowed by the divine, God, via his regent, the emperor, her spouse.

Texts

Agapetos, *Ekthesis*, *PG* 86.1, 1163–85 with partial tr. in Barker, E. (1957), *Social and political thought in Byzantium*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Bell, H.I. et al.,(1962), *The Abinnean archive*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Chronicon Pascale, Dindorf, L., ed., (1832), Bonn, CSHB, Whitby, M. and Whitby, M. tr. (1989), *Chronicon Pascale AD 284–632*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press

Corippus, *In laudem Iustini Augusti minoris*, Cameron, A.M. ed & tr (1976), London: Athlone Press

John Malalas, *Chronographia*, Dindorf, L. ed., (1831) Bonn, CSHB; Jeffreys, E., M. Jeffreys, R. Scott, tr. (1986), Melbourne: Australian National University

Life of Symeon Stylites the Younger, Van den Ven, P. ed., and tr., (1962–70), *La vie ancienne de Symeon Stylites le jeune*, 2 vols, Brussels

Menander Rhetor, Russell, D.A. and N.G. Wilson eds, (1981) Oxford: Oxford University Press

Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, van Dieten, J.-L.,ed. (1975), Berlin

[53] On the Virgin as protector of Constantinople, see Cameron 1978.

[54] For the Parthenon, see Frantz 1965, who notes 694 as the date of the first surviving Christian graffito in the Parthenon.

Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai, Cameron, A. and Herrin J., eds and tr. (1984), *Constantinople in the early eighth century: the* Parasataseis syntomoi chronikai, Leiden: Brill

Procopios, *Buildings*, text and tr. Dewing, H.B. (1940), Camb. Mass. and London: Loeb Classical Library

Zacharias of Mitylene, *Vie de Sévère par Zacharie le Scholastique*, Kugener, M.-A., ed. and tr. (1903), *PO* 2 Paris

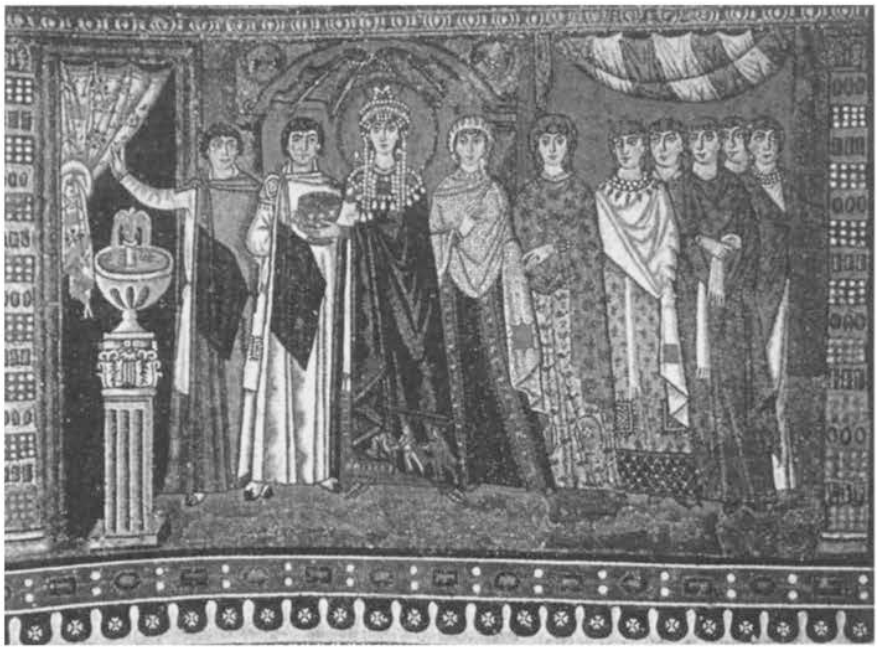


Fig 20.1 The empress Theodora. Mosaic panel, church of San Vitale, Ravenna, sixth century AD.

Fig. 20.2 Wing of the diptych of the consul Anastasios, AD 517.

Fig. 20.3 Earth? Tapestry weave, sixth century AD.

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

21

The Labours of the Twelve Months in twelfth-century Byzantium

Elizabeth Jeffreys

Personifications of various kinds can be found in many contexts in the Byzantine world. In the Paris Psalter, for example, the linguistically facile personifications of grammatically gendered nouns as female figures – Good Sense (Phronesis) and Megalopsychia (Magnanimity), for example – hover in the background to the scenes from the life of David not merely as an elegant and classicizing decoration but as an admonitory counterpoint, as it were, for the benefit of the Psalter's recipient. In another paper in this volume (*infra* pp. 263–77), Liz James discusses the female figures who personified the City – Rome, Antioch, Constantinople – who were developed from the City Tyche of late antiquity but lingered on in strange ways. Here I would like to consider figures representing the months, which have both verbal and visual currency in Byzantium.

The theme of the personified months is one that is well known in late antiquity. Several series of twelve figures, all male, depicted with attributes that represent the civic and agricultural pursuits deemed typical of that month, survive from many periods and in different media. Thus one finds January represented by a figure dressed as a consul; May will be shown as a handsome youth garlanded with roses; August as a young man drenched in sweat and quenching his thirst in the scorching heat of the dog days; October as a fowler with nets and snares.[1] Perhaps the earliest identifiable visual representation of personifications of this sort is a marble frieze, dated to the second century BC, which is now embedded, together with other antique spolia, in the walls of the Little Metropolis in Athens (built probably after 1204, in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade). The best-known depictions, however, are the drawings that have been reconstructed from fifteenth- and

[1] The classic discussions are to be found in Webster 1938, Levi 1941 and Akerström-Hougen 1974.

From *Personification In The Greek World: From Antiquity To Byzantium*, eds Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Copyright © 2005 by Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin. Published by Ashgate Publishing Ltd, Gower House, Croft Road, Aldershot, Hampshire, GU11 3HR, UK.

sixteenth-century copies of Carolingian reproductions of the document known as the Calendar of 354. This lavish and complex compilation, produced by the noted calligrapher Furius Dionysius Filocalus for a certain Valentinus, was a handsome New Year gift which included *fasti*, calendars and also a set of images of the months of the year, to which descriptive Latin verses had been added.[2] The date of composition of these verses has been disputed, for they were clearly not written for the text which they accompanied, since there are discrepancies between the attributes described in the poems and the way the figures are drawn. Nevertheless there is an overall correlation between image and verse and this, together with the partial but clear continuity of symbolism between the sculptural frieze of the second century BC and the manuscript illustrations of the fourth century AD, indicates that personifications of the months were an enduring motif.

The motif's continuing popularity is also demonstrated by a series of floor mosaics dating from the fourth to the sixth centuries AD which are found throughout the Mediterranean; for example in Carthage, Argos (a particularly splendid and well-published example), Antioch and Scythopolis.[3] Here too there is a striking agreement on how the months should be represented. Thus May still has his roses and August his thirst-quenching jar, though some changes reflect a changing society – January is no longer shown as a consul embarking on his year of office but as a muffled figure slaughtering hogs. However, after the sixth century this theme drops out of sight. Two mosaics from Jerash, one dated to 531, and two from Scythopolis, one dated 558, seem to be the last surviving visual representations in the Greek Mediterranean,[4] while there is also a hiatus in the Latin West. This cessation of representation is entirely explicable in terms of the changing socio-economic conditions in the late sixth and early seventh centuries in both the eastern and western ends of the Mediterranean world, and as a result of the religious controversies which subsequently shook the Greek-speaking, Byzantine areas. In the Latin West the theme of the personified months began to resurface in the ninth century[5] but in Constantinople and the Greek East it only reappears, whether in visual or literary forms, in the first part of the twelfth century. This paper will attempt to explore some of the factors that might be involved in its re-emergence.[6]

[2] The complex collection of texts and illustrations is thoroughly discussed by Stern 1953, but see also Salzman 1990.

[3] Akerström-Hougen 1974.

[4] Webster 1938, 23.

[5] Webster 1938, 37.

[6] There seem to have been very few examples of verses in Greek to parallel the Latin set that accompanied the Calendar of 354. In contrast to the many Latin examples, one can point, in Greek, to only two sets in the Palatine Anthology (IX 384, 580), dating perhaps to the early sixth century, perhaps to be associated with the decoration of bath-houses (Courtney 1988, 38).

The texts which deal with the personified months are two. Theodore Prodromos wrote a set of free-standing verses on the twelve months of the year, describing their attributes and commenting on appropriate dietary measures for the season, while Eumathios Makrembolitis[7] included a long description of wall-paintings depicting the months in his prose novel *On the adventures of Hysmene and Hysmenias.*

Theodore Prodromos was one of the most prolific, and certainly the most gifted and versatile, of the many writers who flourished in and around the aristocratic establishments of Komnenian Constantinople in the first three-quarters of the twelfth century, until the death of the emperor Manuel. This was a time of increasing prosperity, when education was prized more than ever before as a means to advancement; when a teaching structure, both official and unofficial, was in place to provide that education; when the secular authors from Classical antiquity were read, edited, commented on and imitated; when writers jostled to win commissions, and when there was an appreciative audience, both scholarly and fashionable, for speeches, verse compositions and rhetorical *tours de force* of all kinds. A feature of this environment is that most of these writers, who were never a large group, were well aware of their rivals' interests and activities.[8] Theodore (born around 1100 and died around 1170) produced encomia for two reigning emperors (John [1118–43], and then Manuel [1143–81]), for the dowager empress Eirene and also for her daughter-in-law, the *sevastokratorissa* Eirene. He also wrote commentaries on scripture, a saint's life, hymns, and a verse drama in the style of an ancient tragedy retelling the Crucifixion story but based on a Euripidean cento. In a secular vein he produced a novel and a pastiche of a Homeric hymn.[9] It is not at all surprising that he should also try his hand at describing the months of the year.

The piece in which he does so is short, only some thirty lines in length.[10] Each month makes a brief statement in the first person, characterizing his

---

It is interesting to note that the genre entered the Syriac literary tradition, some time between the early fifth and the early ninth centuries (Brock 1985).

[7] Previously generally known as Eustathius; see below and note 15.

[8] The history of the literary currents of this period is still being developed. Paul Magdalino (1993) offers many insights; Kazhdan and Franklin (1984, 23–86) is interesting on Theodore but should be used with caution.

[9] The best survey of Theodore's literary output, and a full bibliography to 1974, is that of Hörandner (1974).

[10] The text survives in many manuscripts (Hörandner 1974, 55) and at times also attributed to other twelfth-century writers such as Kallikles; there seems no reason to challenge Theodore's authorship. The edition by Keil (1889, 95–115), and its textual discussion, remains sound, but the poem has been re-edited in Romano 1980, 125–8 (as Kallikles) and in Soulogiannis 1968 (using an Athos MS unavailable to Keil). The translations and comments in this paper use Romano's edition. The calendar verses discussed in this paper are not to be

appearance, and follows this with some dietary advice. Thus for March the verses read:

> I lead out soldiers under arms, I bring out swords and make ready for battle, I make foreign land attractive to an army. But I also recommend and instruct, as is right, that everyone consumes a little aromatic wine daily, a sweet nourishment;

for May:

> I bring forth the rose that relieves low spirits, and the lovely lily whose bloom rings good cheer, and I nurture sturdy green grass. But you should not eat meat from the belly or the legs, for this gives rise to fiery bile which engenders ague and gout.

The dietary comments are taken from a pamphlet attributed in the manuscripts to a certain sophist Hierophilos of uncertain date; the name is probably intended to hint at the Herophilos who was a major figure in Classical medicine.[11] By the late eleventh century the status of doctors had risen and it had once more become respectable to pay attention to medical matters, as can be seen, for example, in comments in the *Alexiad*.[12] Given the breadth of Theodore's interests it is entirely understandable that he should pick up on this trend; he was also preoccupied with his own health, especially his tendency to gout.[13] While with longer texts one might regularly look for the intervention of a patron as part of the reason for writing, this is not necessarily the case with a shorter one. It could well be that in these brief verses Theodore is following his own inclinations. But these verses, like those in the Calendar of 354, read like captions intended to accompany a drawing or a painting; one wonders if a suitable context for such paintings could be on the walls of a refectory or dining room. In that case the assumption would be that Theodore had been prompted to produce them by some kind of commission.

However, the fact remains that by Theodore's lifetime (and we do not know when he produced these verses) the description of the months had become a relatively obscure genre. There remains the question about what brought this motif to his attention. It could be that the presence of the two examples in the Palatine Anthology of late antique calendar verses would have been sufficient to jog the attention of a wide-ranging scholar like

---

confused with liturgical verse calendars such as those of Christopher of Mytilene (Darrouzès 1958, Follieri 1959) or of Theodore himself (Longo 1983).

[11] The most recent edition of Hierophilos, with a brief discussion of the three redactions but little on the date, is in Romano 1998.

[12] Kazhdan 1984.

[13] See, e.g., Poem 38, lines 11–40 (ed. Hörandner 1974).

Theodore, but one feels there should be more.[14] The background to Theodore's text will be discussed again later.

Now let us consider Eumathios Makrembolitis, author of the novel *Hysmene and Hysminias*.[15] He is another matter entirely, in some ways as obscure as Theodore is prominent, though recently his biography may have been clarified. His surname is that of a prominent family which produced an empress in the previous century (the wife of Constantine X Doukas) and many diplomats in the twelfth, while the first name recorded in the manuscripts varies. It has recently been proposed that he is to be identified with the Eumathios Makrembolitis who was twice *eparchos* of Constantinople, who signed the acts of the 1166 synod as *protoaskretis*, and with whom Balsamon had contacts. Several seals associated with this person survive from the late twelfth century.[16] This resurrects earlier suggestions[17] and would initially indicate that Makrembolitis' life span might place the novel in the latter years of the century. However, *Hysmene and Hysmenias* can surely only be part of the lively literary scene of the first part of the twelfth century.

Sustained fictional narratives were not a regular part of Byzantine literary culture: saints' lives – hagiography – perhaps filled the need for story-telling which seems to be universal, and orally transmitted tales that have otherwise survived only as hints must also have existed. Between the composition of the last of the novels of late antiquity (the dating of which is still debated) and the appearance of the Komnenian examples in the twelfth century is a gap of many centuries, to be followed by a further hiatus which was ended in the fourteenth century by fictional narratives of a very different sort. This is a short-hand way of indicating that of the four Byzantine novels written in the manner of Longus, Achilles Tatius or Heliodorus, three are by writers whose dates are known and who functioned as part of the literary ferment of the first half of the twelfth century. These three are Theodore Prodromos, Niketas Eugenianos and Constantine Manasses. It would therefore be only reasonable to put Makrembolitis, the fourth, who shares many of their characteristics, into the same period. The issue has been much debated.[18] A consensus, however, seems now to be emerging which places Makrembolitis' novel before that of Theodore Prodromos, on the basis of

[14] Although there is very little evidence that Theodore had much knowledge of the Anthology (Cameron, Averil, 1993, 341, note 31), and the evidence for other writers of the time is not much stronger.

[15] Edition and Italian translation in Conca 1994. The most recent study, with bibliography of earlier work, is Nilsson 2001.

[16] Hunger 1998, 4–8.

[17] E.g. by Horna (1903).

[18] The most recent contributions to the subject as a whole can be found in the papers in Agapitos-Reinsch 2000.

perceived reactions of the latter to the former.[19] There are now good reasons to accept that Theodore's *Rhodanthe and Dosikles* had been written by 1138, the year in which its dedicatee, Nikephoros Bryennios, died.[20] This can be reconciled with the proposals for Eumathios Makrembolitis' career if it is accepted that the novel is a product of youthful exuberance and the classroom.[21]

The Byzantine novel has had a poor reputation for being prolix, rhetorical and predictable, with chaste heroines, brutal pirates and other obstacles that must be overcome before the course of true love can find fulfilment in a blissful marriage. Makrembolitis' work is no exception. However, recent studies have attempted to redeem this and the other Komnenian novels as documents that are revelatory of contemporary currents in Constantinople and also function as key elements in the development of narrative fiction in the European Middle Ages.[22] But no fully satisfactory account of the factors behind the brief flourishing of this genre has yet appeared.[23]

Makrembolitis has set his novel in a vaguely antique past, in fictional communities whose names, like Evrykomis and Avlikomis, seem to cry out for symbolic interpretations. The antique past is conveyed by an environment in which heralds (of whom the hero is one) are despatched to celebrate rituals in honour of Olympian deities (Zeus, Apollo, Artemis), though none of the procedures ring quite true with any modern understanding of practices in the classical world. The plot reveals how the hero Hysmenias encounters the heroine Hysmene at a banquet in his honour, how they fall in love, elope, are separated but finally reunited. The characters involved are few, the narration is in the first person and the plot development is linear, in keeping with the first-person narrative. But there are also a large number of duplicated elements (symmetrically organized embassies, a duplication of amorous daughters, and much recapitulation of events) which are perhaps more artless than artful.[24] Where Makrembolitis differs from the other three novelists is in his use of prose as opposed to their verse, and a rather simplistic paratactic syntax with a limited vocabulary

[19] MacAlister 1991; Agapitos 2000.

[20] Jeffreys 2000; Agapitos 2000.

[21] Cupane 2000; Nilsson 2001, 18, n. 43.

[22] The most energetic but least well informed is Doody 1996; see Nilsson 2001 for a general statement and a useful bibligraphy.

[23] The papers in Agapitos and Reinsch 2000 bring together a number of the issues currently under debate. Roilos' contribution is particularly successful in showing the extent to which Theodore's work is a collection of clever set-pieces. The same arguments could be applied to the other Komnenian novelists.

[24] Though Nilsson 2001 mounts a consistent defence on behalf of Makrembolitis' literary skills.

(which ties in with his clumsy plot mechanism); where he resembles them is in his use of literary set-pieces.[25]

What seems to have interested Makrembolitis especially is the description of the process of being in love: he has a number of unexpectedly explicit accounts of physical arousal and near sexual intercourse.[26] Arguably it is the presence of these passages, together with the simple prose, that accounts for the rather large number of manuscripts in which this novel survives (43 at the last count),[27] especially those from sixteenth- and seventeeth-century Western Europe, as well as for the translations and many printings from the seventeenth century onwards. However, while this prurience may seem somewhat un-Byzantine, parallels can be found in, for example, several poems written in the late 1140s by a certain Manganeios Prodromos for his patroness, the *sevastokratorissa* Eirene. This prurience could perhaps be seen as a symptom of a 'harem mentality', a perfervid interest in sexuality that may be induced in an enclosed all-female environment, such as existed in aristocratic households. Manganeios Prodromos shows how much speculation about her marriage chances a pretty young girl could generate among her aunts in a society where politics operated by marriage alliances.[28] This is a parallel to the imagery that was much in vogue at this time in connection with the dashing young emperor Manuel, who was regularly compared to King Eros.[29] Makrembolitis, however, veils, as it were, his explorations of sexuality: he makes his hero, and heroine, subject to the tyranny of Eros, the personification of the sexual drive, but has Eros painted on the walls of a garden and functioning only through dreams.[30] Indeed the hero's most graphically described erotic encounters take place in dream form only; though, interestingly, while this enables the heroine's chastity to be preserved, the hero, after his dream experience, considers that he has compromised his virginity (3.10). The regulation of impure dreams is a topic discussed in contemporary monastic *typika*.[31] So the question might arise whether Makrembolitis is alluding to a topic of contemporary debate, or one relevant to his own youthful educational environment, since much of the

[25] Roilos 2000 attempts to argue for rhetorical subtleties in Makrembolitis' text; he makes suggestive points but, in my view, demonstrates only that the work can be viewed as a collection of exercises. He is much more successful in arguing for complexities in Theodore's *Rhodanthe and Dosikles*.

[26] The classic discussion of this is Alexiou 1977; see now also Cupane 2000.

[27] Cataldi-Palau 1980.

[28] Manganeios Prodromos, poems 56 and 57. Necipoğlu 1991, 159–64 discusses the atmosphere of the Ottoman imperial harem, though concludes that it resembled 'rather more a monastery for young girls than the bordello of European imagination'.

[29] Magdalino 1992.

[30] As is well discussed in Macalister 1990 and 1996.

[31] See, e.g., the Phoberos *typikon* (Thomas-Hero 2000, vol. 3, 939–43); cf. Cunningham 1999.

advanced teaching available in the first part of the twelfth century operated in an ecclesiastical environment.[32]

It is in the context of the verbal depiction of a painted Eros and his enslavement of all creatures, and all creation, to his will that the descriptions of the months appear in Makrembolitis' narrative. Hysmenias has come to Avlikomis as herald to celebrate the Diasia in honour of Zeus and has been welcomed by the leading citizen Sosthenes into his house with its magnificent garden. Together with his friend, cousin and confidant Kratisthenes, Hysmenias contemplates the paintings that decorate the walls of the garden. There are three series: the four virtues of Prudence, Courage, Chastity and Justice, depicted as female figures (2.2–6); then Eros with a train of attendants (2.7–11), and finally the twelve months, depicted as male figures in a variety of garments (4.5–18). Makrembolitis dwells on these paintings at length. As they are the most highly wrought pieces of writing in the novel it is reasonable to assume that they are significant. In terms of the writer and his audience the significance is immediately explicable: these are the flourishes and bravura pieces that would attract applause as the writer showed off his skills, for the first publication of a text like this would have been an oral presentation in one of the *theatra*, literary salons, which operated at this time.[33] But then one must ask how these bravura pieces fit into the plot. The long account of Eros can be justified because the novel is exploring aspects of sexuality. Of the four virtues most emphasis is given by Makrembolitis to Prudence (Sophrosyne), and the preservation of the two protagonists' chastity is arguably the major theme in the novel. This leaves the months, the last in the series.

In fact the figures are nowhere named as months. They are initially presented as a set of men and their accoutrements:

> One was a soldier, a soldier in appearance, a soldier in gaze, a soldier in stature, armed entirely as a soldier – his head, his hands, his back, his brow, his chest, his loins, right down to his feet ... He had a quiver round his loins, and a two-edged sword, a long spear in his right hand, a shield was slung from his left ... (4.1).

The knowledgeable reader or listener must work out that this refers to the month of March; Hysmenias remains puzzled. Interspersed are comments on the painter's skills:

> thus had the craftsman worked the iron into a covering, or rather had imitated iron with his colours; thus had he armed the soldier as far as his finger nails (4.3)

[32] Magdalino 1993, 325–8

[33] On *theatra*, see Magdalino 1993, 336, with bibliography.

or

> so excellently and artistically were his feet depicted that on looking at him you might declare the man was walking (4.5).

It is Kratisthenes who draws the love-struck Hysmenias' attention to a line of verse written over the figures' heads at the end of the series: 'When you contemplate these men, you see the whole year' (4.17.2 τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀθρῶν τὸν χρόνον βλέπεις ὅλον). One might debate whether χρόνον should be interpreted as 'time', in a strictly classical sense, or as 'year', in accordance with later usage. While the latter is most probable in practice, the difference here is not acute. The point being made implicitly is that all the seasons, the entire circuit of the year, and indeed the whole of time is subject to the tyranny of Eros though comments on the detail of the paintings that the author attributes to his protagonists are brief and banal. Thus, for example:

> Then we [Hysmenias and Krathisthenes] debated the appearance of the men in the paintings. The first, the soldier, indicates the time of year when every soldier sets out on campaign, armed with all his weapons (4.18.1).

Even at this stage of the description the months are not named. However, the significance of the overall domination of Eros does become clear in the debate between Kratisthenes and Hysmenias that follows, when Kratisthenes argues that Eros is not all-powerful and Hysmenias that he is. Hysmenias concludes triumphantly:

> Eros has previously been painted as emperor, and all types of men were enslaved to him, especially those men for whom the painter found appropriate seasons. If then everything is in complete servitude to Eros, how can part escape that servitude? And if every segment of time and space is composed from day or night as its primary matter, and these are in servitude according to the painting and your interpretation, it is quite clear that what is derived from them and through them and everything that is present in them cannot escape servitude but will be brought into servitude against their will (4.20.4).

Hysmenias wins (4.20.5). Eros is all dominant and the bravura description of the months is presented, we may conclude, to emphasize the overwhelming force of Eros, the theme of the novel.

But there remains the question of what prompted Makrembolitis to include the description of the months.[34] Several reasons might be suggested.

[34] The elaborate allegorical interporetations of Plepelits 1989 are not convincing and will not be considered here.

Makrembolitis' descriptions of the months had a certain vogue. Clear reflections appear in the anonymous fourteenth-century verse romance of *Livistros and Rhodamni*, where they clearly play an allegorical role, embedded in an account of the walls of the castle which protected the chaste heroine. They also had an independent existence. There survive several isolated copies of the descriptions of the months excerpted from *Livistros* and lightly reworked (Doulavera

The first is rather humdrum. Wall paintings were fashionable in aristocratic houses at the time when we assume he was writing. Although no examples have survived physically, there is a certain amount of convincing evidence from written sources. From the world of fiction the Grottaferrata version of epic-romance *Digenis Akritis*, whose first version had almost certainly taken shape during the 1130s, has Digenis cover his dining halls with paintings of heroes from the Old Testament and Greek mythology.[35] From slightly later in the century, a number of anonymous and not fully published poems, collected in a thirteenth-century manuscript now in Venice (Marcianus Graecus 524), refer to paintings commissioned for their houses by figures such as George Palaiologos or John Komnenos, the emperor Manuel's nephew.[36] However, while these commissions seem to have included scriptural figures, as did the decorations referred to in *Digenis Akritis*, there is no reference to mythological subjects or topics harking back to classical antiquity. The secular topics recorded in Marc. Gr. 524 are those appropriate to dutiful and loyal citizens – portraits of the reigning emperor and his forbears, or of the reigning emperor and his martial exploits. So even if Makrembolitis were picking up on a current fashion for interior decoration, on the basis of the poems in the Venice manuscript he was picking up the style but not the subject-matter.

However, evidence exists that the depiction of the months had come back into visual fashion and it can be associated with the literary fashion suggested by the descriptions written by Makrembolitis and Theodore Prodromos. This comes from four manuscripts decorated in the first half of the twelfth century: two Gospel Books (the Melbourne Gospels and the Venice Gospels [Venice, Gr. 540]), and two Octoteuchs (both in the Vatican [Vat. Gr. 746 and 747]).[37] In the Canon Tables (that is, the lists of parallel passages found in the four gospels) in the opening pages of both the Melbourne Gospels and the Venice Gospels, the arches in the architectural framework for the tables are supported by little figures representing the personified months (fig. 21.1). The figures can be identified not only because they are named, but also from their accoutrements and gestures. At

1999), as well as a more extensive verse text, τὰ εἴδωλα τῶν δώδεκα μηνῶν ('the figures of the twelve months') (Eidencier 1979). One version of this (in a manuscript dated to 1461) is accompanied by illustrations. Manuel Philis, a prolific poet in the Palaeologan court at the turn of the thirteenth century, also produced a independent set of variants (Keil 1889, 115–20). Thus once this motif reappeared in the Byzantine literary tradition, it had a certain vigour.

[35] G 7. 61–101. This dating accepts the dedication to John II (d. 1142) of the first poem of Ptochoprodromos, which includes a parody of *Digenis* using phrases that are very close to the text that survives in the Grottaferrata manuscript.

[36] Lambros 1911; for a discussion see, Magdalino and Nelson 1982, 135–52

[37] The Gospel Books: Buchthal 1961; Manion and Vines 1984. The Octateuchs: Lowden 1995.

more or less the same time busts representing the months of the year appear in the two Octoteuchs to illustrate Genesis 5.24, and Enoch's apocryphal mastery of agriculture and science (Enoch was said to be the first to devise months, the seasons and the year). Here the figures are not named, but their gestures are consistent with the antique pattern, and the caption beside Enoch is explicit. These four manuscripts appear to provide the first uses of the motif of the personified months by painters and craftsmen in the Greek East since late antiquity; there is considerable consistency and continuity in the symbols used.[38] That one is justified in suggesting a connection between the literary form found in Theodore and Makrembolitis and these visual representations is suggested by several factors. For example, all these series begin the year unusually in March (an obscure liturgical relic)[39] rather than January (the beginning of the consular year) or September (the beginning of the Byzantine ecclesiastical and administrative year); there are some shared innovatory motifs, such as the depiction of February huddled over the fire.

The painters and scribes of these Gospel books and Pentateuchs can be associated with the most accomplished nexus of painters functioning at that time, that involving the Kokkinobaphos Master.[40] The patrons who commissioned manuscripts from this group of painters – like Isaac Komnenos, who commissioned one of the Octoteuchs, or the *sevastokratorissa* Eirene, who was also closely involved with painters associated with the Kokkinobaphos Master – were also those who commissioned encomia, verses for family celebration or substantial works of near scholarship from the lively pool of writers from which this discussion began. Theodore Prodromos was certainly one of that group, and so must have been Eumathios Makrembolitis. So it is highly likely that there is here an example of close interaction between the writers and painters who were jostling for a patron's attention, exchanging ideas, finding new approaches. The circle of patrons, writers and painters was small and closely knit.

Nevertheless the question remains why the months should reappear, apparently after centuries of oblivion. At this point we must revert to the personified Virtues, who were also part of Makrembolitis' decor, though not part of Theodore's. Personified Virtues – eighteen in all, rather than Makrembolitis' four – also appear in Canon Tables from the workshop of the Kokkinobaphos Master, in both the Venice and the Melbourne Gospels (fig. 21.2). In some ways there is no problem about the appearance of these figures. As noted at the beginning of this paper, personifications of abstract virtues, usually in female form to suit their grammatical gender, can be found in manuscript illustration at most periods. Another example, closer in

[38] Manion-Vines 1984, 24–6.
[39] Stern 1955, 183.
[40] See the survey of the evidence in, e.g., Anderson 1991.

time to the Venice and Melbourne Gospels, can be found in the Gospels of John Komnenos (Vatican, Urb. Gr. 2) where Mercy and Justice, crowned and robed as empresses, support the emperors John and Alexios.[41] It has been suggested that the instigation for the appearance of the small figures in the Melbourne and the Venice Gospels is to be found in the monastic movements of the eleventh century which saw an increase of interest in spirituality, whether the mysticism of Symeon the New Theologian or the more practical exercises of John Klimakos.[42] The sixth-century text of Klimakos had previously been illustrated – if it was illustrated at all – with a simple ladder (κλίμαξ), which functioned as an index to the vices to be avoided and the virtues to be aimed at. From the middle of the eleventh century it seems to have received a much fuller set of illustrations in which the virtues and vices, about which the reader is being instructed, are personified as figures, not always very clearly differentiated, surrounding a somewhat harassed monk.[43] From thence to the Canon Tables is a comprehensible step: as Nancy Ševčenko has pointed out, the large portrait in the Melbourne Gospels of the donor (who was also the book's scribe and painter) shows him in monastic dress, making a monastic environment for the book's production very likely, whilst at the same time the unusually large scale at which he is depicted suggests an elevated social status. Once the personified virtues had been brought into decorative schemes, then perhaps it would not have been too large a step to include other personifications, this time of the months. The manuscript illuminators of the early twelfth century, and especially those from the milieu of the Kokkinobaphos Master, were inventive, with a good eye for refreshingly creative detail, as is well demonstrated by the many zoomorphic initial letters favoured by these painters.

But though the personification of the months may initially have had a connection with cultic practice (as is suggested by the frieze mentioned at the outset, now in the Little Metropolis in Athens), these figures became essentially secular motifs, marking the passing of a community's civic year with its lists of officials and the cycle of the agricultural seasons. Sets of these figures were deemed appropriate for dining rooms and entrance halls in the homes of the wealthy, as in the villa in Argos. However, when the personification of the months reappears in Byzantium it is in an ecclesiastical context as a decoration to liturgical books. Here we should remember that the sixth-century examples of months on floor mosaics from Jerash and Scythopolis also come from ecclesiastical contexts. One might like to argue

[41] Stornajolo 1910, 83.

[42] Martin 1954, 156–63; Manion-Vines 1984, 25. This has been developed most recently in Ševčenko 2001.

[43] Martin 1954, 150–52.

that the justification for the personifications in these churches was to demonstrate that time is subject to a higher order. In that case the reappearance of the months in Canon Tables would then not be a meaningless piece of Byzantine antiquarianism but rather the redevelopment of a theme consistent with their earlier function, though the mechanism by which it reappeared remains obscure.

But what about Prodromos and Makrembolites? I would argue that both are picking up a newly fashionable motif, which the closely connected world of the Byzantine literati brought to their attention. Both sets of descriptions are intended for display, both literary and visual. Makrembolites is practising his verbal dexterity with an *ekphrasis* of a work of art, the paintings of the months on the walls of a garden, where the idea that time and the year is subject to a higher authority is relevant to his theme. He may or may not have had an actual set of paintings before him. However, the dietary advice that Prodromos adds to his verses has brought another suggestion to mind – that Prodromos' verses, with accompanying figures, were intended to decorate the walls of a dining room. In that case one could envisage a scenario in which Prodromos' verses were intended for a monastic environment in which manuscript painters had begun to use the motif of personified months in the decoration of Canon Tables. Makrembolitis became aware of this, and diverted the motif to his secular purposes. Whatever the situation, these Byzantine descriptions remain a not insignificant testimony to the longevity and consistency in diversity of this set of personifications.

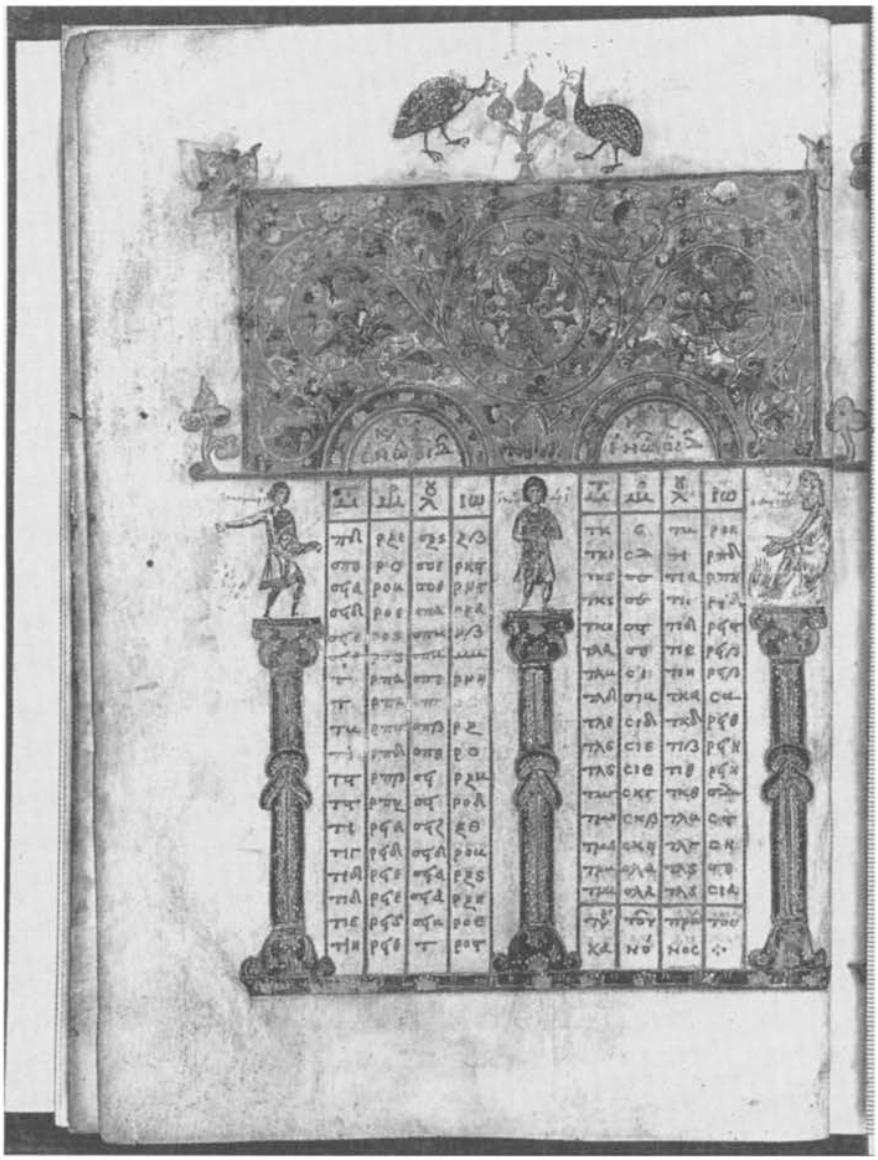


Fig. 21.1 December, January and February from the Melbourne Gospels.

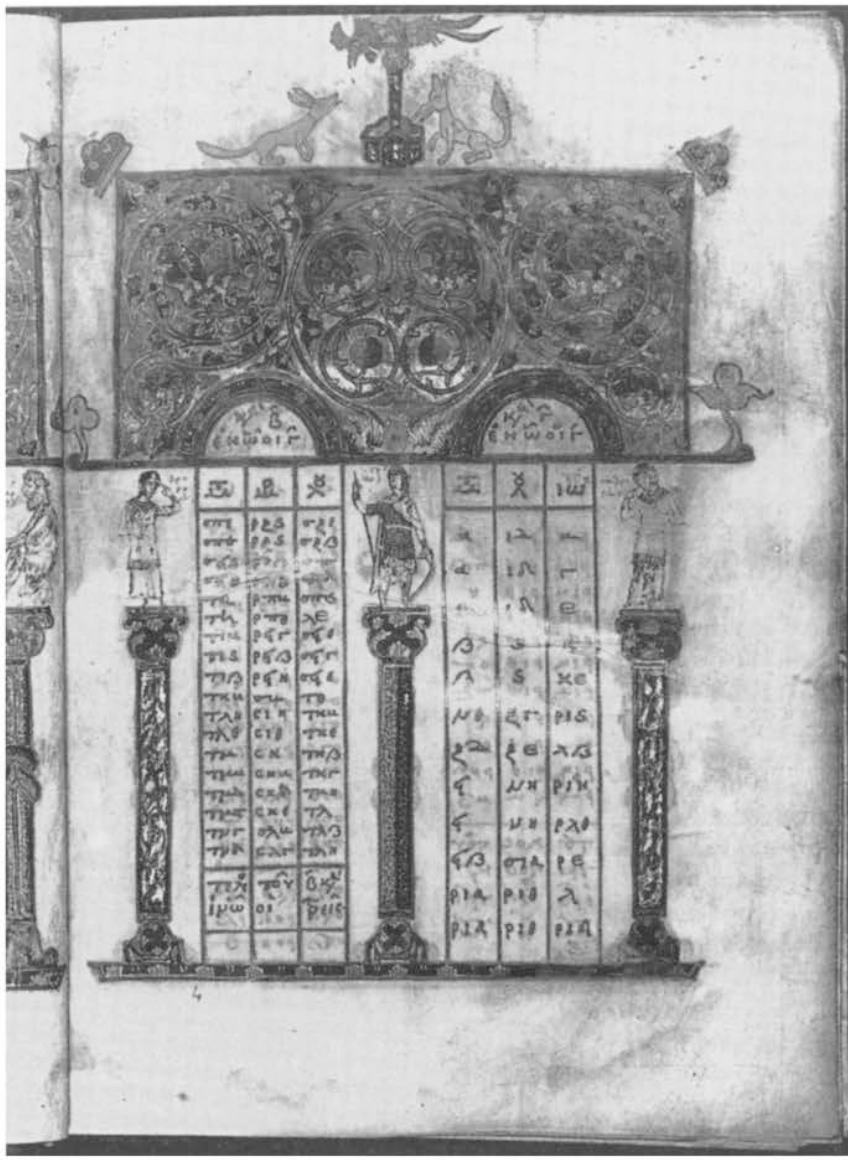


Fig. 21.2 Prudence, Courage and Thoughtfulness from the Melbourne Gospels.

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

Consolidated Bibliography

Bibliographical Abbreviations

ABSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
AntK	*Antike Kunst*
AntP	*Antike Plastik*
AOF	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AW	*Antike Welt*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CVA	*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*
CW	*Classical World*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
GGA	*Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JWCI	*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, Zurich and Munich 1981-1999
MDAI(A)	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*
MNIR	*Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome*
RE	*Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart 1893-1972
REG	*Revue des études grecques*
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*
RM	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
SIMA-PB	*Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature – Pocket Book*
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*
TAPS	*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*
TLS	*Times Literary Supplement*
TPS	*Transactions of the Philological Society*
WSt	*Wiener Studien*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

Aellen, Ch. (1994), *A la recherche de l'ordre cosmique. Forme et fonction des personnifications dans la céramique italiote*, Kilchberg and Zürich: Akanthus

Agapitos, P.A. (2000), 'Poets and painters: Theodoros Prodromos' dedicatory verses of his novel to an anonymous Caesar', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistk* 50: 173–85

Agapitos, P.A. and Reinsch, D.R. (eds) (2000), *Der Roman im Byzanz der Komnenenzeit: Stand der Forschung und weitere Perspectiven*, Frankfurt am Main: Beerenverlag

Akerström-Hougen, G. (1974), *The Calendar and Hunting Mosaics of the Villa of the Falconer in Argos: a study in early Byzantine iconography*, Stockholm: P. Aströms Förlag

Alexander, J. (1976), 'The illustrated manuscripts of the *Notitia Dignitatum*', in R. Goodburn and P. Bartholomew (eds), *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum* (*BAR Supplementary Series* 15), Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 11–49

Alexiou, M. (1977), 'A critical reappraisal of Eustathios Makrembolites' '*Hysmine and Hysmenias*', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 3: 23–43

Alföldi, A. (1977), 'From the Aion Plutonios of the Ptolemies to the Saeculum Frugiferum of the Roman Emperors', in K.H. Kinzl (ed.), *Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean in Ancient History and Prehistory. Studies presented to Fritz Schachermeyr on the occasion of his eightieth birthday*, Berlin and New York: W. de Gruyter, 1–30

Alföldy, G. et al. (eds) (1975), *Krisen in der Antike*, Düsseldorf: Schwann

Allan, A. (2004), 'Hermes *Agonistes* to Hermes *Agonios*: chaos, conflict and Hermes in games and competitive festivals', in P.S.W. Bell and G.M. Davies (eds), *Games and Festivals in Classical Antiquity*, Oxford: British Archaeological Reports

Allen, T.W. (1912), 'Lives of Homer I', *JHS* 32: 250–60

Allen, T.W. (1913), 'Lives of Homer II', *JHS* 33: 19–26

Allen, T.W. (1924), *Homer. The origins and the transmission*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Allen, T.W. (1990 [1912]), *Homeri Opera*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Alroth, B. (1987), 'Visiting gods: who and why', in T. Linders and G. Nordquist (eds), *Gifts to the Gods* (*Boreas* 15), Uppsala: Uppsala University, 9–19

Anderson, J.C. (1991), 'The illustrated sermons of James the Monk: their dates, order, and place in the history of Byzantine art', *Viator* 22: 69–120

Andreae, B. (2001), *Skulptur des Hellenismus*, Munich: Hirmer Verlag

Antalya Museum Guide (1990), Istanbul: Ministry of Culture and Tourism

Antonaccio, C.M. (1995), *An Archaeology of Ancestors: tomb cult and hero cult in early Greece*, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield

Arieti, J.A. (1988), 'Homer's Litae and Atê', *Classical Journal* 84: 1–12

Arthur, M. (1983), 'The dream of a world without women: poetics and the circles of order in the *Theogony* prooemium', *Arethusa* 16: 97–116

Assmann, J. (1990), *Ma'at. Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im Alten Ägypten*, München: Beck

Athanassiadi, P. (1999), *Damascius, the Philosophical History*, Athens: Apamea Cultural Association

Auden, W.H. (1963), *The Dyer's Hand*, London: Faber and Faber

Bader, F. (1989), 'Pan', *Revue de Philologie* 63: 7–46

Bain, D.M. (1977), *Actors and Audience: a study of asides and related conventions in Greek drama*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Ball, W. (2000), *Rome in the East*, London: Routledge

Baltussen, H. (2000), *Theophrastus Against the Presocratics and Plato. Peripatetic dialectic in the De Sensibus*, Leiden: Brill

Balty, J. (1977), *Mosaïques antiques de Syrie*, Brussels: Centre Belge de Recherches Archéologique à Apamée de Syrie

Balty, J. (1981), 'La mosaïque antique au Proche-Orient, 1. Des origines à la Tétrarchie', in H. Temporini and W. Haase (eds), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 12.2, Berlin, New York: W. de Gruyter, 347–429

Balty, J. (1995), *Mosaïques antiques du Proche-Orient*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres

Balty, J. and Balty, J.-C. (1974), 'Julien et Apamée: aspects de la restoration de l'hellenisme et de la politique antichrétienne de l'empereur', *Dialogues d' histore ancienne* 1: 267–304

Balty, J.-C. (1981), *Guide d'Apamée*, Brussels: Centre Belge de Recherches Archéologiques à Apamée de Syrie

Baratte, F. and Metzger, C. (1985), *Catalogue des sarcophages en pierre d'époques romaine et paléochrétienne*, Paris: Ministère de la culture, Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux

Barker, E. (1957), *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Barnes, T.D. (1978), 'Claudian and the *Notitia Dignitatum*', *Phoenix* 32: 81–2

Barthes, R. (1975), *The Pleasure of the Text*, tr. R. Miller, New York: Hill and Wang

Bassett, S.G. (1991), 'The antiquities in the Hippodrome of Constantinople', *DOP* 45: 87–96

Bassett, S.G. (1996), '*Historiae custos*: sculpture and tradition in the baths of Zeuxippos', *AJA* 100: 491–506

Battiscombe, C.F. (ed.) (1956), *The Relics of St Cuthbert*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Baumgarten, A.I. (1981), *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos*, Leiden: Brill

Bazant, J. (1994), 'Thanatos', *LIMC* VII, Zurich and Munich: Artemis, 904–08

Beek, M.A. (1961), *Bildatlas der assyrisch-babylonischen Kultur*, Gütersloh: Mohn

Behr, C.A. (1968), *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales*, Amsterdam: Hakkert

Behr, C.A. (1981), *P. Aelius Aristides: The Complete Works*, 2 vols, Leiden: Brill

Beierwaltes, W. (1985), *Denken des Einen. Studien zur neuplatonischen Philosophie und ihrer Wirkungsgeschichte*, Frankfurt: Klostermann

Beierwaltes, W. (2nd edn 1979), *Proklos, Grundzüge seiner Metaphysik*, Frankfurt: Klostermann

Bell, H.I. et al. (1962), *The Abinnean Archive*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Bellinger, A.R. and Grierson, P. (eds) (1968), *Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection. Vol. 2 Phocas-Theodosios III 606–17*, Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks

Belmont, D.E. (1980), 'The Vergilius of Horace, Ode 4.12', *TAPA* 110: 1–20

Benndorf, O. (1885), 'Über eine Statue des Polyklet' in *Gesammelte Studien zur Kunstgeschichte, eine Festgabe zum 4 Mai 1885 für Anton Springer*, Leipzig: E.A. Seemann

Berard, C. (1970), 'L'hérôon à la porte de l'ouest', *Eretria: fouilles et recherches* 3, Bern: Francke

Berger, P. (1981), *The Insignia of the Notitia Dignitatum*, New York: Garland
Bergmann, B. and Kondoleon, C. (eds) (1999) *The Art of Ancient Spectacle*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press
Bergren, A. (1983), 'Language and the female in early Greek thought', *Arethusa* 16: 69–95
Bernert, E. (1941), 'Phobos', *RE* XX.1, col. 309–17
Bernoulli, J.J. (1901), *Griechische Ikonographie* I, Munich: F. Bruckmann
Berve, H. (1961), *Zur Themistokles-Inschrift von Troizen*, Munich: Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
Bieber, M. (1977), *Ancient Copies: contributions to the history of Greek and Roman art*, New York: New York University Press
Bingöl, O. (1997), *Malerei und Mosaik der Antike in der Türkei, Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt* 67, Mainz: P. v. Zabern
Bingen, J. (ed.) (1996), *Pausanias Historien* (*Fondation Hardt pour l'étude de l'antiquité classique, Entretiens* 41), Genève: Fondation Hardt
Blum, H. (1969), *Die antike Mnemotechnik*, Hildesheim and New York: Olms
Blumenthal, H.J. (1984), 'Marinus' *Life of Proclus*: Neoplatonist Biography', *Byzantion* 54: 469–94
Boardman, J. (1963), 'Artemis Orthia and Chronology', *ABSA* 58, 1–7
Boardman, J. (1994), 'Phobos', *LIMC* VII, Zurich and Munich: Artemis, 393–4
Boardman, J. (1995) *Greek Sculpture: the late classical period*, London: Thames and Hudson
Boehringer, R. and Boehringer, E. (1939), *Homer: Bildnisse und Nachweise*, Breslau: F. Hirt
Bond, G.W. (1988), *Euripides Heracles*, Oxford: Oxford University Press
Borg, B.E. (2002), *Der Logos des Mythos. Allegorien und Personifikationen in der frühen griechischen Kunst*, München: Fink
Borgeaud, Ph. (1981), 'Pan et la peur panique', in Y. Bonnefoy (ed.) *Dictionnaire des Mythologies* II, Paris: Flammarion, 232–5
Borgeaud, Ph. (1988), *The Cult of Pan in Ancient Greece*, tr. K. Atlass and J. Redfield, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press
Boulanger, A. (1968 [1923]), *Aelius Aristide et la sophistique dans la province d'Asie au 2e siècle de notre ère*, Paris: de Bocard
Bowersock, G.W. (1995), *Studies on the Eastern Roman Empire*, Goldbach: Keip
Bowersock, G.W. (1990), *Hellenism in Late Antiquity*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press
Bowersock, G.W. (1995), *Fiction as History: Nero to Julian*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press
Bowra, C.M. (1930), *Tradition and Design in the Iliad*, Oxford: Clarendon Press
Braswell, B.K. (1971) 'Mythological innovation in the *Iliad*', *CQ* 65: 16–26
Brelich, A. (1958), *Gli eroi greci. Un problema storico-religioso*, Roma: Ateneo
Bremer, D. (1976), *Licht und Dunkel in der frühgriechische Dichtung. Interpretationen zur Vorgeschichte der Lichtmetaphysik*, Bonn: Bouvier
Brink, C.O. (1972), 'Ennius and the hellenistic worship of Homer', *AJP* 93: 547–67
Brisson, L. (1981), 'Éros', in Y. Bonnefoy (ed.), *Dictionnaire des Mythologies* I, Paris: Flammarion, 351–9

Broadhead, H.D. (1960), *Persae*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
Brock, S. (1985), 'A dispute of the months and some related Syriac texts', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 30: 181–211 (reprinted in *From Ephrem to Romanos*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999)
Brodie, D. (1999), 'Rational Theology' in A.A. Long (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Early Greek Philosophy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 205–24
Brodsky, J. (1990), 'The poet, the loved one and the Muse', *TLS*, 26 October, 1150 and 1160
Broneer, O. (1932), 'Eros and Aphrodite on the North Slope of the Acropolis', *Hesperia* 1: 50–55
Brooten, B. (2000), 'The Jews of ancient Antioch', in Kondoleon (ed.), 29–37
Brown, J.P. (2000), *Israel and Hellas* II, Berlin: W. de Gruyter
Brown, N.O. (1969), *Hermes the Thief*, London: Vintage
Brown, P. (1995), *Authority and the Sacred*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
Brubaker, L. and Tobler, H. (2000), 'The gender of money: Byzantine empresses on coins (324–802)', *Gender and History* 12: 572–94
Brumfield, A.C. (1981), *The Attic Festivals of Demeter and their Relation to the Agricultural Year*, New York: Arno Press
Bruneau, P. (1970), *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale*, Paris: Bibliothéque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome
Bruneau, P. (1985), 'Deliaca. Iconographie. L'image de Délos personnifiée e la pyxides de Spina', *BCH* 109: 551–6
Brunelle, E. (1976), *Die Bildnisse der Ptolemäerinnen*, diss. Frankfurt
Buchthal, H. (1961), *An Illuminated Gospel Book of About 1100 AD*, Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria
Buckton, D. (ed.) (1994), *Byzantium: Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture from British Collections*, London: British Museum Press
Bühl, G. (1995), *Constantinopolis und Roma: Stadtpersonifikationen der Spätantike*, Zurich: Akanthus
Buren, E.D. van (1941), 'The Ṣalmê in Mesopotamian Art and Religion', *Orientalia* 10: 65–92
Burkert, W. (1966), 'Kekropidensage und Arrhephoria', *Hermes* 94: 1–25
Burkert, W. (1972), *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press
Burkert, W. (1979), *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press
Burkert, W. (1985), *Greek Religion. Archaic and Classical*, tr. J. Raffan, Oxford: Blackwell
Burkert, W. (1992), *The Orientalizing Revolution*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
Burkert, W. (1997), 'From epiphany to cult statue: early Greek *theos*', in A.B. Lloyd (ed.), *What is a God?*, London and Swansea: Duckworth and The Classical Press of Wales, 15–34
Burkert, W. (1998), *Kulte des Altertums: Biologische Grundlagen der Religion*, München: Beck
Burn, L. (1987), *The Meidias Painter*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Burnyeat, M. (1977), 'Socratic midwifery, Platonic inspiration', *BICS* 24: 7–16

Burnyeat, M. (1997), 'First words', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 43: 1–20

Bury, J.B. (1920), 'The *Notitia Dignitatum*', *JRS* 10: 131–154

Buxton R.G.A. (ed.) (1999), *From Myth to Reason? Studies in the development of Greek thought*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Buxton, R.G.A. (1982), *Persuasion in Greek Tragedy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Byvanck, A.H. (1940), 'Der Kalender vom Jahre 354 und die *Notitia Dignitatum*', *Mnemosyne* 8: 177–98

Byzantine Art, An European Art (1964), exhibition catalogue, Athens: Zappeion

Cairns, D.L. (1993), *Aidôs. The psychology and ethics of honour and shame in ancient Greek literature*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Calame, C. (1992), *L'Éros dans la Grèce antique*, Lausanne and Paris: Belin

Calame, C. (1996), *Thésée et l'imaginaire athénien. Légende et culte en Grèce antique*, Lausanne: Payot Lausanne

Calame, C. (2nd end 1997), *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece. Their morphology, religious role, and social functions*, London: Rowman and Littlefield

Cameron, Alan C. (1993), *The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Cameron, Alan C. (1995), *Callimachus and His Critics*, Princeton: Princeton University Press

Cameron, Averil (1978), 'The Theotokos in sixth-century Constantinople. A city finds its symbol', *Journal of Theological Studies* 29: 79–108

Cameron, Averil (1991a), *Christianity and the rhetoric of empire: the development of Christian discourse*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press

Cameron, Averil (1991b), 'The language of images: the rise of icons and Christian representation', in D. Wood (ed.), *The Church and the Arts*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1–42

Cameron, Averil (1993), *The Later Roman Empire AD 284–430*, London: Fontana

Campbell, S. (1988), *The Mosaics of Antioch* (*Subsidia medievalia* 15), Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies

Carpenter, T.H. (1995), 'Nymphs, not maenads, on Attic red-figure vases', *AJA* 99: 314

Carter, J.C. (1984), 'The date of the altar of Athena at Priene and its reliefs', in N. Bonacasa and A. di Vita (eds), *Alessandria e il mondo Ellenistico-Romano. Studi in onore di Achille Adriani III*, Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, 748–64

Carter, E., Donald, J. and Squires, J. (eds) (1993), *Space and Place. Theories of identity and location*, London: Lawrence and Wishart

Cartledge, P. (2nd end 2002), *Sparta and Lakonia: a regional history 1300–362 BC*, London: Routledge

Cartledge, P. and Spawforth, A. (2nd end 2002), *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta: a tale of two cities*, London: Routledge

Casabona, J. (1966), *Recherches sur le vocabulaire des sacrifices en grec des origines à la fin de l'époque classique* (*Publication des annales de la Faculté des lettres* 56), Aix-En-Provence: Editions Ophrys

Casal, L.A. (1990), 'Horai/Horae', *LIMC* V, Zurich and Munich: Artemis, 502–38

Castellino, G.R. (1977), *Testi sumerici e accadici*, Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese

Cataldi-Palau, A.C. (1980), 'La tradition manuscrite d'Eustathe Makrembolitès', *Revue d'histoire de textes* 10: 75–113

Champeaux, J. (1982), *Fortuna: recherches sur le culte de la Fortune à Rome et dans le monde romain des origines à la mort de César* I, Rome: Ecole française de Rome

Chantraine, P. (1968–80), *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris: Klincksieck

Charbonneaux, J., Martin, R. and Villard, F. (1971), *La Grèce hellenistique*, Paris: Gallimard

Cherf, W.J. (1987), 'The Roman borders between Achaia and Macedonia', *Chiron* 17: 135–42

Chowen, R. (1956), 'The nature of Hadrian's *theatron* at Daphne', *AJA* 60: 275–277

Chrysostomou, P.Ch. (1998), *Hê Thessalikê Thea En(n)odia e Pheraia Thea* (*Dêmosieumata tou Archaiologikou Deltiou* 64), Athens: Ypourgeio Politismou

Clarke, K. (1999), *Between Geography and History: hellenistic constructions of the Roman world*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Clay, D. (1994), 'The origins of the Socratic dialogue', in P.A. Wander Waerdt (ed.), *The Socratic Movement*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 23–47

Clay, J.S. (1989), *The Politics of Olympus: form and meaning in the major Homeric Hymns*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Clemente, G. (1968), *La Notitia Dignitatum*, Cagliari: Editrice sarda Fossataro

Cohen, D. (1991), *Law, Sexuality, and Society. The enforcement of morals in classical Athens*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Cohon, R. (1991–92), 'Hesiod and the order and naming of the Muses in Hellenistic art', *Boreas* 14–15: 67–83

Coldstream, J.N. (1976), 'Hero-cults in the age of Homer', *JHS* 96: 8–17

Coleman, K. (1990), 'Fatal charades: Roman executions staged as mythological enactments', *JRS* 80: 44–73

Conca, F. (1994), *Il romanzo bizantino del XII secolo*, Turin: Unione tipografico-editrice torinese

Connor, P.J. (1982), 'Book dispatch: Horace *Epistles* 1.20 and 1.13', *Ramus* 11: 145–52

Cook, A.B. (1914–40), *Zeus. A study in ancient religion*, 3 vols, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Coon, L.L. (1997), *Sacred Fictions: holy women and hagiography*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press

Costa, G. (1982), 'Hermes dio delle iniziazioni', *Civilti classica e cristiana* 3: 277–95

Coulter, J.A. (1976), *The Literary Microcosm: theories of interpretation of the later Neoplatonists*, Leiden: Brill

Courbin, P. (1954), 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1953', *BCH* 78: 95–224

Courtney, E. (1988), 'The Roman months in art and literature', *Museum Helveticum* 45: 33–57

Cox, P. (1983), *Biography in Late Antiquity: a quest for the Holy Man*, Berkely and Los Angeles: University of California Press

Cunningham, M. (1999), '"Shutting the gates of the soul": spiritual treatises on resisting the passions', in L. James (ed.), *Desire and Denial in Byzantium*, Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 23–34

Cupane, C. (2000), 'Metamorphosen des Eros. Liebesdarstgellung und Liebesdiskurs in der byzantinischen Literature der Komnenenzeit', in Agapitos and Reinsch 2000, 25–54

Cutler, A. (1984), '"Roma" and "Constantinopolis" in Vienna', in I. Hutter (ed.), *Byzanz und der Westen: Studien zur Kunst des europäischen Mittelalters*, Vienna: Herbert Hunger, 43–64

Cutler, A. (1991), 'Barberiniana: notes on the making, content and provenance of Louvre, OA9063', *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 18: 329–39

Dale, A.M. (1961), *Euripides Alcestis*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Darrouzès, J. (1958), 'Les calendries byzantins en vers', *Revue des études byzantines* 16: 59–84

Daszewski, W.A. (1985), *Dionysos der Erlöser: griechische Mythen im spätantiken Cypern*, Mainz: P. von Zabern

Davis-Kimball, J. and Ivanovich Martynov, A. (1993), 'Solar rock art and cultures of central Asia', in Singh (ed.), 207–21

Davison, J.A. (1958), 'Notes on the Panathenaea', *JHS* 78: 23–42

Dawkins, R.M. (1929 end), *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (*Supplementary Paper* no. 5), London: Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies

Day, J. (1942), *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination*, New York: Columbia University Press

De Caro, S. (1996), *The National Archaeological Museum of Naples*, Naples: Electa

de Grummond, N.T. and B.S. Ridgway (2000), 'Introduction', in N.T. de Grummond and B.S. Ridgway (eds), *From Pergamon to Sperlonga: sculpture and context*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1–16

Deckers, J.G. (1986), 'Dionysos der Erlöser? Bemerkungen zur Deutung der Bodenmosaiken im "Haus des Aion" in Nea-Paphos auf Cypern durch W.A. Daszewski', *Römische Quartelschrift* 81: 145–72

Delbrück, R. (1929), *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler*, Berlin and Leipzig: W. de Gruyter

Delcourt, M. (1942), *Légendes et cultes de héros en Grèce*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France

Delcourt, M. (1958), *Hermaphrodite. Mythes et Rites de la Bisexualité dans l'Antiquité Classique*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France

Delivorrias, A. (1969), 'A contribution to the problem of the good shepherd', *ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΑ ΑΝΑΛΕΚΤΑ ΕΞ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ*, 1969.2: 220–25

Detel, W. (1998), *Macht, Moral, Wissen. Foucault und die klassische Antike*, Frankfurt: Suhrkamp

Detienne, M. (1977), *Dionysos mis à mort*, Paris: Gallimard

Detienne, M (1991), 'The Sea Crow', in J.P. Vernant and M. Detienne, *Cunning Intelligence in Greek Society and Culture*, tr. J. Lloyd, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 215–58

Detienne, M. and Vernant, J.P. (eds) (1979), *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec*, Paris: Gallimard

Detienne, M. and Svenbro, J. (1979), 'Les loups au festin ou la cité impossible', in Detienne and Vernant (eds), 213–37

Deubner, L. (1902–09), 'Personifikation', in W.H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie* III, Leipzig: Teubner, 2068–169

Deubner, L. (1932), *Attische Feste*, Berlin: H. Keller

Dieterich, A. (1911), *Kleine Schriften*, Leipzig: Teubner

Dietrich, B.C. (1988), 'Divine personality and personification', *Kernos* 1: 19–28

Dillon, J. (1976), 'Image, symbol and analogy', in R.B. Harris (ed.), *The Significance of Neoplatonism*, Norfolk, VA: Old Dominion University Press, 247–62

Dobbins, J.J. (2000), 'The houses at Antioch' in Kondoleon (ed.), 50–61

Dobrov, G.W. and Urios-Aparisi, E. (1995), 'The maculate music: gender, genre and the *Chiron* of Pherecrates', in G.W. Dobrov (ed.), *Beyond Aristophanes: transition and diversity in Greek comedy*, Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 139–74

Dodds, E.R. (1951), *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press

Dodds, E.R. (2nd end 1960), *Euripides' Bacchae*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Dodds, E.R. (1959), *Gorgias*, Oxford: Clarendon

Doody, M. (1996), *The True Story of the Novel*, New Brunswick, NJ: Harper Collins

Doulavera, V. (1999), 'Στίχοι γιὰ τοὺς δώδεκα μῆνες (Ἄγνωστοι μάρτυρες τοῦ μυθιστορήματος *Λίβιστρος* καὶ *Ροδάμνη* καὶ τῶν *Εἰδέων τῶν δώδεκα μηνῶν*)', *Ellenika* 49: 49–59

Dover, K.J. (1978), *Greek Homosexuality*, London: Duckworth

Downey, G. (1938), 'Personifications of abstract ideas in the Antioch mosaics', *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 69: 349–63

Downey, G. (1961), *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Dreyer, B. (1999), *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des spätklassischen Athen (322 – ca. 230 v. Chr.)*, Stuttgart: Steiner

Du Bourguet, P. (1964), *Catalogue des Etoffes Coptes, Musee National du Louvre* I, Paris: Louvre

Ducat, J. (1983), 'Le Tremblement de terre de 464 et l'histoire de Sparte', in *Tremblements de terre, histoire et archéologie. IVèmes rencontres internationales d'archéologie et d'histoire d'Antibes* (Actes du Colloque des 2, 3, 4 novembre 1983), Valbonne: Association pour la promotion et la diffusion des connaissances archéologiques, 73–84

Ducat, J. (1990), *Les Hilotes* (*BCH* Suppl. 20), Athens : École Française d'Athènes

Duchemin (1980), 'Personnifications d'abstractions et d'éléments naturels: Hésiode et l' Orient', in J. Duchemin (ed.) *Mythe et Personnification: travaux et mémoires (Actes du colloque du Grand Palais, Paris, 7–8 Mai 1977)*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1–15 = Duchemin, J. (1995) in *Mythes grecs et sources orientales*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 105–25

Duke, T. (1970), 'Ovid's Pyramos and Thisbe', *Classical Journal* 66: 320–27

Dumézil, G. (1945), *La Naissance d'archanges*, Paris: Gallimard

Dumézil, G. (2nd end 2000), *La Religion romaine archaïque*, Paris: Payot

Dumézil, G. (3rd end 1981), *Mythe et épopée* III, Paris: Gallimard

Dunbabin, K.M.D. (1988), '*Ut Graeco more biberetur*: Greeks and Romans on the dining couch', in I. Nielsen and H. Sigismund Nielsen (eds), *Meals in a Social Context*, Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 81–101

Dunbabin, K.M.D. (1989), '*Baiarum Grata Voluptas*', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 44: 6–46

Dunbabin, K.M.D. (1999), *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Dunbar, N.V. (1995), *Aristophanes: Birds*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Duncan, J. (1993), 'Sites of representation. Place, time and the discourse of the Other', in J. Duncan and D. Ley (eds), *Place, Culture and Representation*, London and New York: Routledge, 39–56

Durand, J. et al. (1992), *Byzance. L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises*, Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale

Edwards, M. (1991), *The Iliad: a commentary*, Vol. V, Books 17–20, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Edwards, M. (2000), *Neoplatonic Saints: the lives of Plotinus and Proclus by their students*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press

Edwards, M.W. (1960), 'Representation and maenads on archaic red-figure vases', *JHS* 80: 78–87

Eideneier, H. (1979), 'Ein byzantinisches Kalendergedicht in der Volkssprache', *Ellenika* 31: 368–419

Eitrem, S. (1940), 'Eleusinia: les mystères et l'agriculture', *Symbolae Osloenses*, 20: 131–51

Eliade, M. et al. (1964), *Die Schöpfungsmythen* (*Quellen des alten Orients* I), Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft

Ellis, S.P. (1997), 'Late antique houses in Asia Minor', in Isager and Poulsen (eds), 38–50

Elsner, J. (1999), *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Erbse, H. (1986), *Untersuchungen zur Funktion der Götter im homerischen Epos*, Berlin and New York: W. de Gruyter

Faedo, L. Paduano (1981), 'I Sarcofagi Romani con Muse', in H. Temporini and W. Haase (eds), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der romischen Welt* II 12.2, Berlin and New York: W. de Gruyter, 65–155

Faraone, C. (1990), 'Aphrodite's κεστός and apples for Atalanta: aphrodisiacs in early Greek myth and ritual', *Phoenix* 44: 219–243

Farnell, L.R. (1921), *Greek Hero Cult and Ideas of Immortality*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Finamore, J.F. (1993), 'Iamblichus on light and the transparent', in H.J. Blumenthal and E.G. Clark (eds), *The Divine Iamblichus. Philosopher and man of gods*, London: Duckworth, 55–64

Fittschen, K. (1973), *Bildkunst 1: Der Schild des Achilleus* (*Archaeologia Homerica* N), Goettingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht

Fittschen, K. (1988), *Griechische Porträts*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft

Fitzhardinge, L.F. (1980), *The Spartans*, London: Thames and Hudson

Fleischer, R. (1991), *Studien zur seleukidischen Kunst I: Herrscherbildnisse*, Mainz: P. v. Zabern

Fleming, J.V. (1969), *The Roman de la Rose. A study in allegory and iconography*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Foley, H. (1993), *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Follieri, E. (1959), 'Il calendario giambico di Cristoforo il Mitilenaio', *Analecta Bollandiana* 77: 245–304

Fontenrose J. (1959), *Python. A study of Delphic myth and its origins*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press

Fontenrose, J. (1978), *The Delphic Oracle*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press

Foucart, M.P. (1918), *Le culte des héros chez les grecs* (*Mémoires de l'academie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 42), Paris: Imprimerie nationale

Foucault, M. (1984), *L'usage des plaisirs. Histoire de la sexualité* II, Paris: Gallimard

Fowden, G. (1982), 'The pagan holy man in late antique society', *JHS* 102: 33–59

Fowden, G. (1988), 'City and mountain in late Roman Attica', *JHS* 108: 48–59

Fränkel, E. (1957), *Horace*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Fränkel, E. (1962), *Agamemnon*, Oxford: Clarendon

Fränkel, H. (2nd end 1975), *Early Greek Poetry and Philosophy*, tr. M. Hadas and J. Willis, Oxford: Basil Blackwell

Francis, E.D. (1991–93), 'Brachylogia Laconica: Spartan speeches in Thucydides', *BICS* 38: 198–212

Frantz, A. (1965), 'From paganism to Christianity in the temples of Athens', *DOP* 19: 185–206

Frantz, A.H., Thompson, H.A. and Travlos, J. (1988), *The Athenian Agora* XXIV: *Late Antiquity AD 267–700*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Fraser, M. (1972), *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Frazer, J.G. (1913), *Pausanias' Description of Greece*, 6 vols, London: MacMillan

Frede, M. (1992), 'Plato's argument and the dialogic form', in J.C. Klagge and N.D. Smith (eds), *Methods of Interpreting Plato and His Dialogues* (*Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy*, Supplementary vol.), Oxford: Clarendon, 201–19

Frei, P. and Koch, K. (2nd end 1996), *Reichsidee und Reichsorganisation im Perserreich*, Freiburg: Universitätsverlag

Friedrich, J. (1954–55), '"Angst" und "Schrecken" als niedere Gottheiten bei Griechen und Hethitern', *Archiv für Orientforschung* 17: 148

Friedrich, J. (2nd end 1967), *Hethitisches Elementarbuch* II (*Indogermanische Bibliothek* I), Heidelberg: C. Winter

Fuchs, W. and Vikelas, E. (1985), 'Zum Rundaltar mit archaistischem Götterzug für Dionysos in Brauron', *Boreas*, 8: 45–6

Galavaris, G. (1958), 'The symbolism of the imperial costume as displayed on Byzantine coins', *American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes* 8: 99–117

Galinsky, K. (1972), *The Herakles Theme: the adaptation of the hero in literature from Homer to the twentieth century*, Oxford: Blackwell

Gallet de Santerre, H. (1976), 'Athènes, Délos et Delphes d'après une peinture de vase à figures rouges du Ve siècle avant J.-C.', *BCH* 100: 291–8

Gallini, C. (1961), 'La follia panica', *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 32: 205–36
Gantz, T. (1993), *Early Greek Myth*, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press
Gardner, P. (1918), *A History of Ancient Coinage, 700–300 BC*, Oxford: Clarendon Press
Garland, R. (1985), *The Greek Way of Death*, London: Duckworth
Garland, R. (1992), *Introducing New Gods. The politics of Athenian religion*, London: Duckworth
Gencheva, I. (forthcoming a), *Macedonia and Achaia at the Times of the Notitia Dignitatum. A contribution to the administrative history of the Late Antiquity* (*Symbolae Historicae* series), Athens
Gencheva, I. (forthcoming b), '*Notitia Dignitatum* in the context of an epoch panegyric', *Mesogeios*
Gérard-Rousseau, M. (1968), *Les mentions religieux dans les tablettes mycéniennes*, Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo
Gersh, S. (2000), 'Proclus' theological methods. The programme of *Theol. Plat.* I 4', in Segonds and Steel (eds), 15–27
Giangrande, G. (1982), 'On Callimachus' literary theories', *Corolla Londiniensis* 2, Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 57–67
Gibson, M. (1994), *The Liverpool Ivories*, London: HMSO
Gill, C. (1979), 'Plato's Atlantis story and the birth of fiction', *Philosophy and Literature* 3.1: 64–78
Gill, C. (1993), 'Plato on falsehood – not fiction', in Gill and Wiseman (eds), 38–87
Gill, C. (1996), *Personality in Greek Epic, Tragedy, and Philosophy*, Oxford: Clarendon Press
Gill, C. and Wiseman, T.P. (eds) (1993), *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World*, Exeter: University of Exeter Press
Giuliani, L. (1998), *Bilder nach Homer. Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Lektüre für die Malerei*, Freiburg: Rombach
Golden, M. (1998), *Sport and Society in Ancient Greece*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
Gombrich, E.H. (1971), 'Personification', in R.R. Bolgar (ed.), *Classical Influences on European Culture AD 500–1500*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 247–57
Gomme, A.W. (1956), *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, Oxford: Clarendon Press
Goodison, L. (1989), *Death, Women and the Sun. Symbolism of regeneration in early Aegean religion* (*BICS* Supplement 53), London: Institute of Classical Studies
Grabar, A. (1936), *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres
Graf, F. (1998a), 'Eros', *Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike* 4, Stuttgart-Weimar: J.B. Metzler, 89–91
Graf, F. (1998b), 'Hestia', *Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike* 5, Stuttgart-Weimar: J.B. Metzler, 512–4
Graindor, P. (1934), *Athènes sous Hadrien*, Cairo: Imprimerie nationale
Graves, R. (3rd end 1952), *The White Goddess: a historical grammar of poetic myth*, London: Faber and Faber
Graziosi, B. (2002), *Inventing Homer*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Green, M. (1991), *The Sun-Gods of Ancient Europe*, London: Batsford
Green, M. (1993), 'The sun gods of ancient Europe', in Singh (ed.), 295–309

Green, P. (1990), *Alexander to Actium. The historical evolution of the hellenistic age*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press

Griffin, J. (1985), *Latin Poets and Roman Life*, London: Duckworth

Griffin, J. (1995), *Homer Iliad IX*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Grigg, R. (1979), 'Portrait-bearing codicils in the illustrations of the *Notitia Dignitatum*', *JRS* 69: 107–24

Grigg, R. (1983), 'Inconsistency and lassitude. The shield emblems of the *Notitia Dignitatum*', *JRS* 73: 132–42

Grigg, R. (1987), 'Illustrations and text in the lost *Codex Spirensis*', *Latomus* 46: 204–10

Grimal, P. (1969), *Dictionnaire de la Mythologie grecque et romaine*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France

Grimm, J. (repr. 1953 [1876]), 'Personificationen', in *Deutsche Mythologie* II^4, Berlin: F. Dümmler

Gruber, J. (1963), *Über einige abstrakte Begriffe des frühen Griechischen*, Meisenheim: Hain

Guarducci, M. (1966), 'Divintà fauste nell'antica Velia', *Parola del Passato* 108/10: 279–91

Gury, F. (1994), 'Selene, Luna', *LIMC* VII, Zurich and Munich: Artemis, 706–15

Güterbock, H.G. (1946), *Kumarbi. Mythen vom churritischen Kronos*, Zürich

Hadzisteliou-Price, T. (1971), 'Double and multiple representations in Greek art and religious thought', *JHS* 91: 48–69

Hafner, G. (1981), *Prominente der Antike*, Dusseldorf and Vienna: Econ

Hägg, R. (ed.) (1999), *Ancient Greek Hero Cult* (*Proceedings of the Fifth International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult*, Göteborg 21–23 April 1995, in *Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae, Series in*-8°, 16), Stockholm: Aströms Förlag

Hainsworth, B. (1993), *The Iliad: a commentary*, Vol. III, Books 9–12, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Hall, E.M. (1989), *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek self-definition through tragedy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Hall, E.M. (2000), 'Female figures and metapoetry in Old Comedy', in Harvey and Wilkins (eds), 407–18

Halperin, D. (1990), 'Why is Diotima a Woman? Platonic *Eros* and the Figuration of Gender', in Halperin, Winkler and Zeitlin (eds), 257–308

Halperin, D.M., Winkler, J.J., and Zeitlin, F.I. (eds) (1990), *Before Sexuality. The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Hamdorf, F.W. (1964), *Griechische Kultpersonifikationen der Vorhellenistischen Zeit*, Mainz: P. von Zabern

Hampe, R. (1955), 'Eunomia und Eukleia', *RM* 62: 107–22

Hampe, R. (1960) *Ein frühattischer Grabfund*, Mainz: Verlad des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums

Handley, E.W. (1985), 'Comedy', in P.E. Easterling and B.M.W. Knox (eds), *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature. Volume I: Greek Literature*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 355–425

Handschur, E. (1970), *Die Farb- und Glanzwörter bei Homer und Hesiod, in den homerischen Hymnen und den Fragmenten des epischen Kyklos*, Vienna: Notring

Hanfmann, G. (1951), *The Season Sarcophagus*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Hanfmann, G.M.A. (1951), *The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks* (*Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 2), Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Hani, J. (1992), *Mythes, rites et symboles*, Paris: Guy Trédaniel

Hanson, A.E. (1990), 'The medical writers' woman', in Halperin, Winkler and Zeitlin (eds), 309–37

Hanson, V.D. (1989), *The Western Way of War. Infantry battle in classical Greece*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Harder, A. (1985), *Euripides'* Kresphontes *and* Archelaos, *Mnemosyne Supplement* 87

Harriott, R. (1969) *Poetry and Criticism before Plato*, London: Methuen

Harrison, E. (1986), 'Charis, Charites', *LIMC* III, Zurich and Munich: Artemis, 191–203

Harrison, J.E. (1927), *Themis. A study of the social origins of Greek religion*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Harrison, S.J. (1988), 'Deflating the *Odes*: Horace, *Epistles* 1.20', *CQ* 38: 473–6

Harvey, D. (1989), *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Oxford: Blackwell

Harvey, F.D. (2000), 'Phrynichos and his Muses', in Harvey and Wilkins (eds), 91–134

Harvey, F.D. and Wilkins, J. (eds) (2000), *The Rivals of Aristophanes: studies in Athenian Old Comedy*, London: Duckworth and the Classical Press of Wales

Haspels, C.H.E. (1936), *Attic Black-figure Lekythoi*, Paris: E. de Boccard

Haüssler, R. (1973) 'Der Tod der Musen', *Antike und Abendland* 19: 117–45

Hauvette, A. (1894), *Hérodote, historien des guerres médiques*, Paris: Hachette

Hedreen, G.M. (1994), 'Silens, nymphs, and maenads', *JHS* 114: 47–69

Heinze, T. (1998), 'Horai', *Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike* 5, Stuttgart-Weimar: J.B. Metzler, cols 716–17

Henderson, J.J. (2nd end 1991), *The Maculate Muse: Obscene Language in Attic Comedy*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press

Henderson, J.J. (2000), 'Pherekrates and the women of Old Comedy', in Harvey and Wilkins (eds), 135–50

Henrichs, A. (1978), 'Greek maenadism from Olympias to Messalina', *HSCP* 82: 121–60

Henrichs, A. (1987), 'Myth visualized: Dionysos and his circle in sixth-century Attic vase-painting', in *Papers on the Amasis Painter and his World*, Malibu, CA: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 92–124

Herfort-Koch, M. (1986), *Archaische Bronzeplastik Lakoniens* (*Boreas* Supplement 4), Münster: Archäologisches Seminar der Universität

Hermary, A., Cassimatis, H. and Vollkommer, R. (1986), 'Eros', *LIMC* III, Zurich and Munich: Artemis, 850–942

Herrin, J. (2000), 'The imperial feminine in Byzantium', *Past and Present* 169: 3–35

Herter, H. (1975), 'Hippolytus und Phaidra', in H. Herter, *Kleine Schriften*, Munich: Fink, 119–156

Hindley, C. (2002), 'Sappho's "rosy" moon', *CQ* 52.1: 374–7

Hodkinson, S. (2000), *Property and Wealth in Classical Sparta*, London and Swansea: Duckworth and The Classical Press of Wales

Hoffmann, D. (1969–70), *Das Spätrömische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia Dignitatum*, vols 1–2, Düsseldorf: Rheinland Verlag

Hoffmann, P., Hupe, J. and Goethert, K. (1999), *Katalog der römischen Mosaike aus Trier und dem Umland, Trierer Grabungen und Forschungen* XVI, Mainz: P. v. Zabern

Hoffner, H.A. and Beckman, G.M. (1990) *Hittite Myths*, Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press

Holum, K.G. (1995), 'Inscriptions from the imperial revenue office of Byzantine Caesarea Palaestinae', in J.H. Humphrey (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine Near East: some recent archaeological research* (*JRA* Supplement 14), Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology

Hooker, J.T. (1988), '*Odyssey* and *Iliad*: folly and delusion', *Živa Antika*, 38: 5–9

Hörandner, W. (1974), *Theodoros Prodromos, Historische Gedichte*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften

Horna, K. (1903), 'Die Epigramme des Theodoros Balsamon', *Wiener Studien* 25: 165–217

Hornblower, S. (1991), *A Commentary on Thucydides*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Hourihane, C., Timmermann, A. et al. (eds) (2000), *Virtue and Vice: the personifications in the Index of Christian Art*, Princeton University Index of Christian Art Resources, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Howie, J.G. (1995), 'The *Iliad* as Exemplum', in Ø. Andersen and M. Dickie (eds), *Homer's World: Fiction, Tradition, Reality*, Bergen: Norwegian Institute at Athens, 141–73

Humphreys, S.C. (1980), 'Family tombs and tomb cult in ancient Athens', *JHS* 100: 96–126

Hunger, H. (1998), 'Die Makremboliten auf byzantinischen Bleisiegeln und in sonstigen Belegen', *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 5: 1–28

Huskinson, J. (1974), 'Some pagan mythological figures and their significance in early Christian art', *JRS* 42: 68–97

Huxley, G. (1965), 'Ion of Chios', *GRBS* 6: 29–46.

Ibrahim, L., Scranton, R. and Brill, R. (1976), *Kenchreai, East Port of Corinth II. The panels of opus sectile in glass*, Leiden: Brill

Immerwahr, S. (1989), 'The pomegranate vase, its origins and continuity', *Hesperia* 58: 397–410

Inan, J. (1980), 'Seleukeia Kazısı ve Onarımı', *II. Kazı sonuçları toplantısı*, 11–14

Irwin, E. (1974), *Colour Terms in Greek Poetry*, Toronto: Hakkert

Isager, S. (1995), 'Pagans in late Roman Halikarnassos II', *Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens* 1: 209–19

Isager, S. (1997), 'The late Roman villa at Halikarnassos: the inscriptions', in Isager and Poulsen (eds), 24–29

Isager, S. and Poulsen, B. (eds) (1997), *Patron and Pavements in Late Antiquity*, Odense: Odense University Press

Isler-Kerényi, C. (1969), *Nike. Der Typus der laufenden Flügelfrau in archaischer Zeit*, Erlenbach-Zürich and Stuttgart: Eugen Rentsch

Jaeger, W. (1939), *Paideia: the ideals of Greek culture*, Vol. I, tr. G. Highet, Oxford: Blackwell

Jaeger, W. (1968), *The Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers* (*The Gifford Lectures* 1936), tr. E.S. Robinson, Oxford: Oxford University Press

James, L. (1996), '"Pray not to fall into temptation and be on your guard": antique statues in Christian Constantinople', *Gesta* 35: 12–20

James, L. (2001), *Empresses and Power in Early Byzantium*, London: Leicester University Press

James, L. (2003), 'Who's that girl? Personifications of the Byzantine empress', in C. Entwistle (ed.), *Through a Glass Brightly. Studies in Byzantine and Medieval art and archaeology present to David Buckton*, Oxford: Oxbow

Janko, R. (1991), *The Iliad: a commentary*, Vol. 4, Books 13–16, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Janko, R. (2002), 'The Derveni Papyrus: an interim text', *ZPE* 141: 1–62

Jastrow, M. (1912), *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens. Bildermappe*, Giessen

Jeffreys, E.M. (2000), 'A date for Rhodanthe and Dosikles?', in Agapitos and Reinsch 2000, 127–136

Johnston, S.I. (1998), 'Erinys', *Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike* 4, Stuttgart-Weimar: J.B.Metzler, 71–2

Johnston, S.I. (1999), *Restless Dead*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: California University Press

Jones, A.H.M. (1963), 'The Greeks under the Roman Empire', *DOP* 17: 3–19

Jost, M. (1985), *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie*, Paris: Vrin

Joyce, L.B. (1997), *Maenads and Bacchantes: images of female ecstasy in Greek and Roman art*, diss. University of California, Los Angeles

Kabus-Jahn, R. (1968), rev. D. Pinkwart, *Das Relief des Archelaos von Priene und die Musen des Philiskos* (Kallmünz 1965), *GGA* 220: 35–42

Kahn, L. (1978), *Hermès passe: les ambiguïtés le la communication*, Paris: François Maspero

Kalas, G. (1997), 'Queening intercession: the virgin intervenes as an empress at Sta. Maria Antiqua (Rome)', *23rd Byzantine Studies Conference Abstracts*, 10

Kalligas, P. (1991), *Porphyry on the Life of Plotinus*, Athens: Akademia Athenôn

Kantorowicz, E. (1960), 'On the golden marriage belt and the marriage rings of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection', *DOP* 14: 3–16

Karusu, S. (1984), 'Astra', *LIMC* II, Zurich and Munich: Artemis, 904–27

Kaster, R. (1988), *Guardians of Language: the grammarian and society in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press

Kazhdan, A. (1984), 'The image of the medical doctor in Byzantine literatrue of the tenth to twelfth centuries', *DOP* 38: 43–52

Kazhdan, A. and Franklin, S. (1984), *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Keel, O. (1974), 'Die Weisheit spielt vor Gott', *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 21

Keil, B. (1889), 'Die Monatscyclen des byzantinischen Kunst in spatgreichischer Literatur', *Wiener Studien* 11: 94–142

Kennedy, G.A. (1983), *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Kennedy, G.A. (1991), *Aristotle: On Rhetoric*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press

Kennedy, G.A. (1994), *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Kerenyi, K. (1967), *Eleusis*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul

Kerenyi, K. (1975/6), *Zeus and Hera*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul

Keuls, E.C. (1985), 'The conjugal side of Dionysiac ritual and symbolism in the fifth century BC', *MNIR* 46, n.s. 11: 25–33

King, H. (1993), 'Bound to bleed: Artemis and Greek women', in A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt (eds), *Images of Women in Antiquity*, London and New York: Routledge, 109–27

King, L.W. (1912), *Babylonian Boundary Stones and Memorial Tablets in the British Museum*, London: British Museum Press

Knapp, S. (1985), *Personification and the Sublime: Milton to Coleridge*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Koch, C. (1937), *Der römische Juppiter*, Frankfurt: V. Klostermann

Kondoleon, C. (1987), 'A gold pendant in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts', *DOP* 41: 307–16

Kondoleon, C. (1991), 'Signs of Privilege and Pleasure: Roman Domestic Mosaics', in E.K. Gazda (ed.), *Roman Art in the Private Sphere*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 105–115

Kondoleon, C. (1995), *Domestic and Divine: Roman mosaics in the House of Dionysos*, Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press

Kondoleon, C. (2000), 'Mosaics of Antioch' in Kondoleon (ed.) (2000), 63–77

Kondoleon, C. (ed.) (2000), *Antioch: the Lost Ancient City*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Kossatz-Deissmann, A. (1990), 'Iris I', *LIMC* V, Zurich and Munich: Artemis, 741–60

Kossatz-Deissmann, A. (1991), 'Satyr- und Mänadennamen auf Vasenbildern des Getty-Museums mit Addenda zu Ch. Fränkel, Satyr- und Bakchennamen auf Vasenbildern (1912)', *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 5: 131–99

Kossatz-Deissmann, A. (1992), 'Lyssa', *LIMC* VI, Zurich and Munich: Artemis, 322–9

Kourinou, E. (2000), Σπάρτη· Συμβολὴ στὴ μνημειακὴ τοπογραφία της, Athens: ΗΟΡΟΣ

Kourou, N. (1987), 'Ρόα Γλυκεια', in *ΕΙΛΑΠΙΝΗ, Τόμος Τιμητικός για τον καθηγητή Ν. Πλάτωνα*, Heraklion: Vikelaias, 101–16

Kraay, C.M. (1976), *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins*, London: Methuen

Kretschmer, P. (1924), 'Dyaus, Ζεύς, Diespiter und die Abstrakta im Indogermanischen', *Glotta* 13: 101–114

Kritikos, P. and Papadaki, S. (1963), 'Μήκωνος καί ὀπίου ἱστορία καί ἐξάπλωσις ἐν τῇ Περιοχῇ τῆς Α. Μεσογείου κατά τήν ἀρχαιότητα', *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς* 80–150

Kucharsky, P. (1963), 'Sur la notion pythagoricienne du *kairos*', *Revue Philosophique*, 153: 141–69

Kurtz, D.C. and Boardman, J. (1971), *Greek Burial Customs*, New York: Cornell University Press

Kyrieleis, H. (1975), *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer*, Berlin: Gebr. Mann

L'Orange, H.P. (1935), '*Sol invictus imperator*. Ein beitrage zur Apotheose', *Symbolae Osloensis* 14: 86–114

La Rocca, E. (1984), 'Philiskos a Roma. Una testa di Musa dal tempio di Apollo Sosiano', in N. Bonacasa and A. di Vita (eds), *Alessandria e il mondo Ellenistico-Romano. Studi in onore di Achille Adriani III*, Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, 629–43

Laks, A. and Most, G.W. (eds) (1997), *Studies on the Derveni Papyrus*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Lamberton, R. (1986), *Homer the Theologian. Neoplatonist allegorical reading and the growth of the epic tradition*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press

Lambros, S. (1911), ''Ο Μαρκιανὸς κῶδιξ 524', *Neos Ellenomnemon* 8: 3–57, 123–92

Lancha, J. (1997), *Mosaique et culture dans l'occident romain (I^er^–IV^e^ s.)*, Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider

Langdon, S.H. (1927), *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Inscriptions* 6, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Larson, J. (1995), *Greek Heroine Cults*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press

Larson, J. (2001), *Greek Nymphs: Myth, Cult, Lore*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Lassus, J. (1934), 'La mosaïque de Yakto', in G. Elderkin (ed.), *Antioch on the Orontes. I The excavations of 1932*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 114–56

Latte, K. (1960) *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, Munich: Beck

Lattimore, R. (tr. 1951), *The Iliad of Homer*, Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press

Laubscher, H.P. (1982), *Fischer und Landleute: Studien zur hellenistischen Genreplastik*, Mainz: P. v. Zabern

Laurens, A.-F. (1996), 'Héraclès et Hébé dans la céramique grecque ou les noces entre terre et ciel', in C. Jourdain-Annequin and C. Bonnet (eds), *II^e^ Rencontre Héracléene: Héraclès: les femmes et le féminin*, Brussels and Rome: Institut historique belge de Rome, 235–58

Lavan, L. (1999), 'The residences of late antique governors: a gazetteer', *Antiquité Tardive* 7: 135–64

Lavin, I. (1967), 'The ceiling frescoes in Trier and illusionism in Constantinian painting', *DOP* 21: 97–114

Lazongas, E. (2004), *NAOS. La symbolique du temple grec dans l'art et la religion*, diss. Paris

Leader-Newby, R. (2004), *Silver and Society in Late Antiquity: Functions and Meanings of Silver Plate in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries AD*, Aldershot: Ashgate

Leaf, W. (2^nd^ end 1900–02), *The Iliad*, 2 vols, London: Macmillan

Lebrun, R. (1980), *Hymnes et Prières Hittites*, Louvain-la-Neuve: Centre d'Histoire des Religions

Lee, H.M. (1984), 'Modern ultra-long distance running and Philippides' run from Athens to Sparta', *Ancient World* 9: 107–13

Lefkowitz, M. (1981), *The Lives of the Greek Poets*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press

Lehmann, C.M. and Holum, K.G. (eds) (2000), *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima*, Boston, MA: American School of Oriental Research

Lekatsas, P. (1963), *Ἔρως*, Athens

Lenz, Fr.W. and Behr, C.A. (eds) (1976), *P. Aelii Aristides: opera quae extant omnia*, vol. 1, Lugduni Batavorum: Brill

Lesky, A. (1971), *Geschichte der griechische Literatur*, Bern: Francke

Lévêque, P. and Vidal-Naquet, P. (1964), *Clisthène: Clisthène l'Athénien. Essai sur la représentation de l'espace et du temps dans la pensée politique grecque de la fin du Vième siècle à la mort de Platon*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres

Levi, D. (1923), 'Il *kairos* attreaverso la letteratura Greca (1)', *Rendiconti della Reale Accedemia dei Lincei* 32: 260–81

Levi, D. (1924), 'Il concetta di *kairos* e la filosofia di Platone', *Rendiconti della Reale Accedemia dei Lincei* 33: 93–118

Levi, D. (1941), 'The allegories of the months in classical art', *Art Bulletin* 23: 251–92

Levi, D. (1947), *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, 2 vols, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Lewis, C.S. (1936), *The Allegory of Love*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Libanius, *Oration 11: The* Antiochikos*: In praise of Antioch*, in M. Whitby (ed.) (2000), *Antioch as a Centre of Hellenic Culture as Observed by Libanius*, tr. A.F. Norman (*Translated Texts for Historians* 34), Liverpool: Liverpool University Press

Liebeschuetz, J.H.W.G. (1979), *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

LIMC = Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (1981–99), Zurich and Munich: Artemis

Linfert, A. (1983), 'Der Apollon von Daphne des Bryaxis', *DamMitt* 1: 165–73

Ling, R. (1998), *Ancient Mosaics*, London: British Museum Press

Littlewood, A.R. (1967), 'The symbolism of the apple in Greek and Roman literature', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 147–81

Lloyd, A.C. (1990), *The Anatomy of Neoplatonism*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Lloyd, G.E.R (1966), *Polarity and Analogy: two types of argumentation in early Greek thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Lloyd, G.E.R. (1979, 2nd edn 1983), *Magic, Reason and Experience*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Lloyd-Jones, H. (1971), *The Justice of Zeus*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press

Longo, A. Acconcia (1983), *Il calendario giambico in monostici de Teodoro Prodromo*, Rome: Istituto di studi bizantini e neoellenici

Lonis, R. (1979), *Guerre et religion en Grèce à l'époque classique. Recherches sur les rites, les dieux, l'idéologie de la victoire* (*Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon* 238), Paris: Les Belles Lettres

López Eire, A. (1996), *La lengua coloquial de la comedia aristofánica*, Murcia: Universidad de Murcia

Loraux, N. (1989), *Les Expériences de Tirésias*, Paris: Gallimard

Loraux, N. (2nd edn 1990), *Les enfants d'Athéna. Idées athéniennes sur la citoyenneté et la division des sexes*, Paris: Seuil

Loraux, N. (1992), 'What is a Goddess?', in P. Schmitt Pantel (ed.), *A History of Women in the West*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 11–44

Loraux, N. (1996), *Né de la terre. Mythe et politique à Athènes*, Paris: Seuil

Lowden, J. (1995), *The Octateuchs: a study in Byzantine manuscript illumination*, University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press

Lowe, N.J. (2000), *The Classical Plot and the Invention of Western Narrative*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lowe, N.J. (2001), 'Comic plots and the invention of fiction', in Harvey and Wilkins (eds), 259–72

Luppe, W. (2000), 'The rivalry between Aristophanes and Kratinos', in Harvey and Wilkins (eds), 15–20

Maas, M. (2000), ' People and identity in Roman Antioch' in Kondoleon (ed.), 13–21

MacAlister, S. (1990), 'Aristotle on the Dream: a twelfth-century romance revival', *Byzantion* 69: 195–212

MacAlister, S. (1991), 'Byzantine twelfth-century romances: a relative chronology', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 15: 175–210

MacAlister, S. (1996), *Dreams and Suicides. The Greek novel from antiquity to the Byzantine empire*, London and New York: Routledge

MacCormack, S.G. (1981), *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press

Macdowell, D. (1988) *Wasps*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

MacLachlan, B. (1993), *The Age of Grace: charis in early Greek poetry*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

MacMullen, R. (1981), *Paganism in the Roman Empire*, New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press

MacMullen, R. (1997), *Christianity and Paganism in the Fourth to Eighth Centuries*, New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press

Mactoux, M.-M. (1993), 'Phobos à Sparte', *RHR* 210.3: 259–304

Magdalino, P. (1992), 'Eros the king and the king of amours: some observations on Hysmine and Hysminias', *DOP* 46: 197–204

Magdalino, P. (1993), *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos 1143–1181*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Magdalino, P. and Nelson, R. (1982), 'The emperor in Byzantine art of the twelfth century', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 8: 123–83

Maguire, H. (1987), 'The mantle of earth', *Illinois Classical Studies* 12: 221–35

Maguire, H. (1990), 'Garments pleasing to God: the significance of domestic textile designs in the early Byzantine period', *DOP* 44: 215–24

Maier, I.G. (1968), 'The Giessen, Parma and Piacenza codices of the *Notitia Dignitatum* with some related texts', *Latomus* 27: 96–141

Maier, I.G. (1969), 'The Barberinus and Munich Codices of the *Notitia dignitatum omnium*', *Latomus* 28: 960–1035

Maj, B.M.F. (1961), 'Intorno a una fibula aurea della necropoli Langobarda di Nocera Umbra', *Commentari* 12: 3–11

Malalas, *The Chronicle of John Malalas. A translation*, tr. E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys and R. Scott (1986), Melbourne: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies

Malkin, I. (1987), *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece* (*Studies in Greek and Roman Religion* 3), Leiden: Brill

Mango, M. (1995), 'Artemis in Daphne', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 21: 263–83

Manion, M.M. and Vines, V.F. (1984), *Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts in Australian Collections*, Melbourne: Thames and Hudson

Mann, J. (1976), 'What was the *Notitia Dignitatum* for?', in R. Goodburn and P. Bartholomew (eds), *Aspects of the Notitia dignitatum* (*BAR Supplementary Series* 15), Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1–9

Mann, U. (1982), 'Der Ernst des heiligen Spiels', *Eranos Jahrbuch* 51: 9–58
Mansfeld, J. (1994), *Prolegomena: questions to be settled before the study of an author, or a text*, Leiden: Brill
Martin, J. (1954), *Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
Matz, F. (1913), *Die Naturpersonifikationen in der griechischen Kunst*, diss. Göttingen
Mayer, W.R. (1987), 'Ein Mythos von der Erschaffung des Menschen und des Königs', *Orientalia* 56: 55–68
McClanan, A. (2003), *Representations of Early Byzantine Empresses*, London: Palgrave-Macmillan
McNally, S. (1978), 'The maenad in early Greek art', *Arethusa* 11: 101–35
Meiggs, R. and Lewis, D. (1969), *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Oxford: Clarendon Press
Mellink, M.J. (1979), 'Archaeology in Asia Minor', *AJA* 83: 331–44
Merkelbach, R. (2nd edn 1994), *Mithras*, Weinheim: Beltz, Athenäum
Metcalf, W. (2000), 'The Mint of Antioch' in Kondoleon (ed.), 105–11
Mette, H. J. (1963), *Der verlorene Aischylos*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag
Metzler, D. (1980), 'Eunomia und Aphrodite', *Boreas* 2: 73–88
Meuli, K. (1975), *Gesammelte Schriften*, Basel and Stuttgart: Schwabe
Millar, F. (1993), *The Roman Near East 31BC–AD 337*, Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press
Miller, S.G. (1972), 'A Roman monument in the Athenian Agora', *Hesperia* 41: 50–95
Misdrachi-Capon, R. (ed.) (1989), *Éros grec. Amour des dieux et des hommes*, Athens: Ministère de la Culture
Möllendorff, P. von (2000), *Auf der Suche nach der verlogenen Vergangenheit. Lukians Wahre Geschichten*, Tübingen: Narr
Moreno, P. (1994), *Scultura ellenistica* I, Rome: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato
Moreno, P. (1999), *Sabato in museo. Letture di arte ellenistica e romano*, Milan: Electa
Morgan, C. (1990), *Athletes and Oracles: the transformation of Olympia and Delphi in the eighth-century BC*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
Morgan, T. (1998), *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
Morley, D. and Robins, K. (1993), 'No place like *Heimat*: images of home(land) in European culture' in Carter, Donald and Squires (eds), 3–31
Most, G. (1999), 'The poetics of early Greek philosophy', in A.A. Long (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Early Greek Philosophy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 332–62
Moustaka, A., Goulaki-Voutira, A., and Grote, M. (1992) 'Nike', *LIMC* VI, Zurich and Munich: Artemis, 850–904
Moutsopoulos, E. (1982), 'The idea of false in Proclus', in R.B. Harris (ed.), *The structure of Being*, Albany: State University of NY Press, 137–39
Murray, P. (1981), 'Poetic inspiration in early Greece', *JHS* 101: 87–100
Murray, P. (1999), 'What is a *muthos* for Plato?', in Buxton (ed.), 251–62
Murray, P. (2002) 'Plato's Muses', in Spentzou and Fowler (eds), 29–46

Murray, P. (forthcoming) 'Plato and Greek theatre', in E. Theodorakopoulos (ed.), *Attitudes to Theatre from Plato to Milton* (*Nottingham Classical Literature Studies* 7), Bari: Levante Editori

Muthmann, F. (1982), *Der Granatapfel. Symbol des Lebens in der Alten Welt* (*Schriften der Abeggstiftung Bern* 6), Fribourg: Office du livre

Nafissi, M. (1991), *La Nascita del* Kosmos. *Studi sulla storia e la società di Sparta*, Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane

Nagler, M. (1967), 'Toward a generative view of the oral formula', *TAPA* 98: 269–311

Nagler, M. (1974), *Spontaneity and Tradition*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press

Nagy, G. and Valavanis, P.D. (1993), 'The sun in Greek art and culture', in Singh (ed.), 281–93

Nagy, G. (1979), *The Best of the Achaeans: concepts of the hero in archaic Greek poetry*, Baltimore, MD and London: Johns Hopkins University Press

Necipoğlu, G. (1991), *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power: the Topkapi Palace in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard

Neil, R.A. (1966), *Knights*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Neils, J. (1983), 'A Greek nativity by the Meidias Painter', *BClevMus* 70: 274–89

Newiger, H.-J. (1957), *Metapher und Allegorie. Studien zu Aristophanes*, Munich: Beck

Nilsson, I. (2001), *Erotic Pathos, Rhetorical Pleasure: narrative technique and mimesis in Eumathios Makrembolitis' Hysmine and Hysminias*, Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis

Nilsson, M.P. (1908), 'Das Ei im Totenkult der Alten', *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 11: 530–46

Nilsson, M.P. (1925), *A History of Greek Religion*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Nilsson, M.P. (2nd edn 1950), *The Minoan-Mycenean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion* (*Kungl. Humanistiska vetenskapssamfundeti Lund* 9), Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup

Nilsson, M.P. (1952), 'Kultische Personfikationen', *Eranos* 50: 31–40 (= Opuscula III, Lud 1960, 233–42)

Nilsson, M.P. (1967/1974), *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, I[3] and II[2], Munich: Beck

Nisbet, R.G.M. and Hubbard, M. (1970) *A Commentary on Horace: Odes, Book I*, Oxford, Clarendon

Nock, A.D. (1944), 'The cult of heroes', *Harvard Theological Review* 37: 141–74

Noé, M. (1940), *Phoinix, Ilias und Homer*, Leipzig: Hirzel

Norden, E. (1915) *Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance* I, Leipzig: Teubner

Ntatsoulê-Stauridê, A. (1985), *Roman Portraits in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens* (in Greek), Athens

Nussbaum, M. (1986), *The Fragility of Goodness: luck and ethics in Greek tragedy and philosophy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Nuttall, A.D. (1992), *Openings: narrative beginnings from epic to the novel*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Ogden, J. (1992), *Ancient Jewellery*, London: British Museum Press

Oikonomos, G. (1939–1941), 'Η επι της Ακροπόλεως Λατρεία της Αθηνάς Νίκης', *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς*, 97 ff.

Oliensis, E. (1997), 'The Erotics of Patronage: readings in Tibullus, Propertius, and Horace', in J.P. Hallett and M.B. Skinner (eds), *Roman Sexualties*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 51–71

Oliensis, E. (1998), *Horace and the Rhetoric of Authority*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Oliver, J.H. (1968) *The Civilizing Power* (*TAPS* 58.1), Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society

Onians, J. (1979), *Art and Thought in the Hellenistic Age*, London: Thames and Hudson

Onians, R.B. (1989), *The Origins of European Thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Osborne, J. (1981), 'Early medieval painting in San Clemente: the Madonna and Child in the niche', *Gesta* 20: 299–310

Osborne, R. (1997), 'The ecstasy and the tragedy: varieties of religious experience in art, drama, and society', in C. Pelling (ed.), *Greek Tragedy and the Historian*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 187–211

Ostrowski, J.A. (1990), *Les personnifications des provinces dans l'art romain* (*Travaux du centre d' archéologie méditerranéenne de l'Académie polonaise des sciences* 27), Warsaw: Comer

Ostrowski, J.A. (1991), *Personifications of Rivers in Greek and Roman Art*, Kraków: Nakladem Uniwersytetu Jagiellonskiego

Otto, W. (1912), 'Helios', *Pauly's Real Encyclopäpie der Klassischen Altertumwissenschaft* VIII.1, Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 58–94

Padel, R. (1992), *In and Out of the Mind*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Padgett, J.M. (2000), 'The stable hands of Dionysos. Satyrs and donkeys as symbols of social marginalization in Attic vase painting', in B. Cohen (ed.), *Not the Classical Ideal. Athens and the construction of the other in Greek art*, Leiden: Brill, 43–70

Page, D.L. (1972), *Greek Literary Papyri*, vol. 3, London and Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Palmer, L.R. (1950), 'The Indo-European origins of Greek justice', *TPS*: 149–68

Pannuti, U. (1984), *L'Apoteosi d'Omero. Vaso argenteo del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (*Monumenti Antichi Serie Miscellanea* III.2), Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei

Panofsky, E. (1930), *Hercules am Scheidewege*, Leipzig: Teubner

Papastavrou, H. (1992), 'Nyx', *LIMC* VI, Zurich and Munich: Artemis, 939–41

Parisinou, E. (2000a), *The Light of the Gods: the role of light in archaic and classical Greek cult*, London: Duckworth

Parisinou, E. (2000b), '"Lighting" the world of women: lamps and torches in the hands of women in the late archaic and classical periods', *Greece and Rome* 47.1: 19–42

Parisinou, E. (2001), 'The "language" of the female hunting outfit in Archaic and Classical Greece', in L. Lewellyn-Jones (ed.), *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World*, London and Swansea: Duckworth and The Classical Press of Wales, 55–72

Parker, R and Pollock, G. (1981), *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology*, London: Routledge

Parker, R. (1996), *Athenian Religion: a history*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Paul-Zinserling, V. (1994), *Der Jena-Maler und sein Kreis*, Mainz: P. v. Zabern

Paxson, J.J. (1994), *The Poetics of Personification*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Pearcy, L.T. (1994), 'The personifications of the text and Augustan poetics in *Epistles* 1.20', *CW* 87: 457–64

Pemberton, E.G. (1972), 'The east and west friezes of the temple of Athena Nike', *AJA* 76: 303–10

Pender, E.E. (2000), *Images of Persons Unseen: Plato's metaphors for the gods and the soul*, Sankt Augustin: Academia Verlag

Péron, J. (1976), 'L'analyse des notions abstraites dans *les Travaux et les Jours* d'Hésiode', *REG* 89: 265–91

Petersen, J.H. (1996), *Fiktionalität und Ästhetik. Eine Philosophie der Dichtung*, Berlin: Erich Schmidt

Petersen, L. (1939), *Zur Geschichte der Personifikation in griechischer Dichtung und bildender Kunst*, Würzburg-Aumühle: Konrad Triltsch Verlag

Pfeiffer, R. (ed. 1949) *Callimachus*, Vol. 1 *Fragmenta*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Pinkwart, D. (1965a), *Das Relief des Archelaos von Priene und die Musen des Philiskos*, Kallmünz: Lassleben

Pinkwart, D. (1965b), 'Das Relief des Archelaos von Priene', *AntP* 4: 55–65

Piras, A. (2000), *Hādōxt Nask 2. Il racconto Zoroastriano della sorte dell'anima*, Rome: Istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente

Pirenne-Delforge, V. (1994), *L'Aphrodite grecque* (*Kernos* Suppl. 4), Athens/Liège: Centre International d'Étude de la Religion Grecque Antique

Pirenne-Delforge, V. and Suarez de la Torre, E. (eds) (2000), *Héros et héroïnes dans les mythes et les cultes grecs* (Actes du Colloque organisé à l'Université de Valladolid, 26–29 mai 1999, *Kernos* Suppl. 10), Athens/ Liège: Centre International d'Étude de la Religion Grecque Antique

Plass, P.C. (1993), 'The metaphysical aspect of tenses in Proclus', *International Philosophical Quarterly* 33.2: 143–51

Plepelits, K. (1989), *Eustathios Makrembolites, Hysmine und Hysminias*, Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann

Podlecki, A. (1992), *Eumenides*, Warminster: Aris and Phillips

Polignac, de F. (1984), *La naissance de la cité grecque. Cultes, espace et société, VIIIe–VIIe siècles*, Paris: La Découverte

Pollitt, J.J. (1986) *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Pollitt, J.J. (1993), 'Response [to Martin Robertson]', in P. Green (ed.), *Hellenistic History and Culture*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 90–103

Porter, S.E. (ed.) (1997), *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period, 330 B.C.–A.D. 400*, Leiden: Brill

Porzig, W. (1942), *Die Namen für Satzinhalte im Griechischen und im Indogermanischen*, Berlin

Postlethwaite, N. (2000), *Homer's Iliad: a commentary on the translation of Richmond Lattimore*, Exeter: University of Exeter Press

Pötscher, W. (1959), 'Das Person-Bereichdenken in der frühgriechischen Periode', *WSt* 72: 5–25

Pötscher, W. (1972), *s.v.* 'Personifikation', *Der kleine Pauly* IV, 661–3

Pötsche, W. (1978), 'Person-Bereich-Denken und Personifikation', *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch* 19: 217–231

Pötscher, W. (1987), *Hera*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft

Poulsen, B. (1995), 'Pagans in late Roman Halikarnassos I', *Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens* 1: 193–208

Poulsen, B. (1997), 'The city personifications in the late "Roman Villa" in Halikarnassos', in Isager and Poulsen (eds), 9–23

Powell, J.U. (1925), *Collectanea Alexandrina: reliquine minores poetarum Graecorum aetatis Ptolemaicae 323–146 AC*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Pratt, L.H. (1993), *Lying and Poetry from Homer to Pindar. Falsehood and deception in archaic Greek poetics*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press

Price, S.R.F. (1980), 'Between man and god: sacrifice in the Roman imperial cult', *JRS* 70: 28–43

Price, S.R.F. (1984), *Rituals and Power. The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Pucci, P. (1987), *Odysseus Polutropos. Intertextual readings in the* Odyssey *and the* Iliad, Ithaca, NJ and London: Cornell University Press

Puhvel, J. (1977), 'Devata-Dvandva in Hittite, Greek and Latin', *AJP* 98: 396–405

Queyrel, A. (1984), 'Scenes du peintre de Pothos', *BCH* 108: 153–4

Queyrel, A. (1992) 'Mousa, Mousai', *LIMC* VI, 657–81

Rabel, R.J. (1991), 'Agamemnon's *Iliad*', *GRBS* 32: 103–17

Radford, R.S. (1901), *Personification and the Use of Abstract Subjects in the Attic Orators and Thukydides*, diss. Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD

Raeck, W. (1992), *Modernisierte Mythen. Zum Umgang der Spätantike mit klassischen Bildthemen*, Stuttgart: F. Steiner

Raubitschek, A.E. (1954), 'The new Homer', *Hesperia* 23: 315–19

Rawlinson, H.C. (1880), *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* V, London: British Museum

Redfield, J.M. (1975, 2nd edn 1994), *Nature and Culture in the Iliad*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press)

Reeder, E. (1995), 'Women and men in classical Greece', in E. Reeder (ed.), *Pandora*, Baltimore and Princeton, NJ: Walters Art Gallery and Princeton University Press

Reid, J. Davidson (1993), *Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts 1300–1990s*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Reinach, S. (1912), *Répertoire de reliefs grecs et romaines* III, Paris: Ernest Leroux

Reinhardt, K. (1960), 'Personifikation und Allegorie', in *Vermächtnis der Antike*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 7–40

Rice, M. (1998), *The Power of the Bull*, London and New York: Routledge

Richardson, N. (1993), *The Iliad: a commentary*, Vol. VI, Books 21–24, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Richer, N. (1998a), *Les Éphores. Études sur l'histoire et sur l'image de Sparte (VIIIe–IIIe siècle avant Jésus-Christ)*, Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne

Richer, N. (1998b), 'Des citoyens maîtres d'eux-mêmes: l'*eukosmon* de Sparte archaïque et classique', *Cahiers du Centre Gustave-Glotz* 9: 7–36

Richer, N. (1999), 'Aidôs at Sparta', in S. Hodkinson and A. Powell (eds), *Sparta. New Perspectives*, London and Swansea: Duckworth and The Classical Press of Wales, 91–115

Richer, N. (2001), 'Un peuple de philosophes à Sparte? A propos de Platon, *Protagoras*, 342A–343B', *Università degli Studi di Torino. Quaderni del Dipartimento di Filologia Linguistica e Tradizione classica 'Augusto Rostagni'* 17: 29–55

Richter, G.M.A. (1957), *The Portraits of the Greeks*, Vol. I, London: Phaidon Press

Richter, G.M.A. (1984), *The Portraits of the Greeks*, abridged and rev. edn by R.R.R. Smith, Oxford: Phaidon

Ridgway, B.S. (1990), *Hellenistic Sculpture* I, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press

Ridgway, B.S. (2000), *Hellenistic Sculpture* II, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press

Ridgway, B.S. (2002), *Hellenistic Sculpture* III, Madison: University of Wisonsin Press

Risch, E. (1981), *Kleine Schriften*, Berlin: W. de Gruyter

Robert, L. (1980), *A travers l'Asie Mineure. Poètes et prosateurs, monnaies grecques, voyageurs et géographie* (*Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* 139), Paris: Boccard

Robertson, M. (1975), *A History of Greek Art*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Robertson, N. (1983), 'The riddle of the Arrhephoria at Athens', *HSCP* 87: 241–88

Robertson, N. (1985), 'The origin of the Panathenaea', *Rheinisches Museum* 128: 231–95

Robertson, N. (1992), *Festivals and Legends: the formation of Greek cities in the light of public ritual*, Toronto: Toronto University Press

Robinson, D.M. (1942), *Excavations at Olynthus, XI: Necrolynthia*, Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins Press

Rodenwalt, G. (1919), *Griechische Porträts aus dem Ausgang der Antike*, Berlin: W. de Gruyter

Rodgers, B.S. (1986), 'Divine insinuation in the *Panegyrici Latini*', *Historia* 35: 69–99

Rogers, G.M. (1991), *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos: foundation myths of a Roman city*, London and New York: Routledge

Rohde, E. (1952), *Psyché. Le culte de l'âme chez les Grecs et leur croyance à l'immortalité*, tr. A. Reymond, Paris: Payot

Roilos, P. (2000), 'Amphoteroglossia: the role of rhetoric in the medieval Greek learned novel', in Agapitos and Reinsch (eds), 109–26

Romano, J.F. (1993), 'Solar culture in ancient Egypt', in Singh (ed.), 321–33

Romano, R. (1980), *Nicola Callicle: Carmi* (*Byzantina e neo-hellenica neapolitana* 8), Naples: Bibliopolis

Romano, R. (1998), 'Il calendario dietetico di Ierofilo', *Atti della Accemdia Ponaniana* n.s. 47: 197–222

Rosen, R.M. (2000), 'Cratinus' *Pytine* and the construction of the comic self', in Harvey and Wilkins (eds), 23–39

Ross, M.C. (ed.) (1965), *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection. Vol. 2 Jewelry, enamels and art of the Migration Period*, Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks

Rothaus, R.M. (2000), *Corinth: the first city of Greece* (*Religions in the Graeco-Roman World* 139), Leiden: Brill

Roueché, C. (1989), *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity: the late Roman inscriptions including*

texts from the excavations of Aphrodisias conducted by Kenan T. Erim (Journal of Roman Studies Monographs), London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies

Roueché, C. (1997), 'Benefactors in the late Roman period: the Eastern Empire', in M. Christol and O. Masson (eds), *Actes du Xe congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine*, Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 353–68

Roueché, C. (1998), 'The functions of governors in Late Antiquity: some observations', *Antiquité Tardive* 6: 31–36

Rudhardt, J. (1958), *Pensée religieuse et actes constitutifs du culte dans la Grèce Classique*, Genève: Droz

Rudhardt, J. (1999), *Thémis et les Hôrai*, Geneva: Droz

Russell, D.A. (1983), *Greek Declamation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Sadurska, A. (1962), 'Quelques remarques sur l'iconographie d'Homère', *BCH* 86: 504–09

Saffrey, H.D. (1976), 'Théologie et anthropologie d'après quelques préfaces de Proclus', *Images of Man in Ancient and Medieval Thought*, Leuven: Leuven University Press [reprinted in Saffrey, H.D. (1990), *Recherches sur le néoplatonisme après Plotin*, Paris: Vrin, 159–72]

Sakellariou, A. (1966), *Mykenaikê Sphragidogluphia* (*Dêmosieumata tou Archaiologikou Deltiou* 8), Athens: Ypourgeio Politismou

Salzman, M.R. (1990), *On Roman Time: the codex calendar of 354*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press

Saradi-Mendelovici, H. (1990),'Christian attitudes to pagan monuments in Late Antiquity and their legacy in later Byzantium', *DOP* 44: 47–61

Sarian, H. (1990), 'Hestia', *LIMC* V, Zurich and Munich: Artemis, 407–12

Sarian, H. et al. (1986), 'Erinys', *LIMC* III, Zurich and Munich: Artemis, 825–43

Scanlon, T.F. (1988), 'Combat and contest: athletic metaphors for warfare in Greek literature' in S.J. Bandy (ed.), *Coroebus Triumphs: the alliance of sports and arts*, San Diego, CA: San Diego State University Press , 230–44

Schachter, A. (1986), *Cults of Boiotia II* (*BICS* Supplement 38.2), London: Institute of Classical Studies

Schachter, A. (1997), 'Charites', *Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike* 2, Stuttgart-Weimar: J.B.Metzler, 1102–3

Schauenburg, K. (1962), 'Gestrinbilder in Athen und Unteritalien.', *AntK* 5: 51–64

Schefold, K. (1993) *Gotter- und Heldensagen der Griechen in der Fruh- und Hocharchaischen Kunst*, Munich: Hirmer

Schefold, K. (1997), *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker*, Basel: B. Schwabe

Scheibler, I. (1984), 'Götter des Friedens in Hellas und Rom', *AW* 15: 39–57

Scherf, J. (2000), 'Nike', *Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike* 8, Stuttgart-Weimar: J.B. Metzler, 906–08

Schibli, H.S. (1990), *Pherekydes of Syros*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Schlesier, R. (1993), 'Mixtures of masks: maenads as tragic models', in T.H. Carpenter and C.A. Faraone (eds), *Masks of Dionysos*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 89–114

Schmid, W. (repr. 1964 [1889]), *Der Atticismus, in seinen Hauptvertretern* II, Hildesheim: Georg Olms

Schmitt, A. (1990), *Selbständigkeit und Abhängigkeit menschlichen Handelns bei Homer. Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Psychologie Homers*, Mainz/Stuttgart: Steiner

Schneider, C. (1999), *Die Musengruppe von Milet*, Mainz: P. von Zabern

Schollmeyer, A. (1912), *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen und Gebete an Šamaš*, Paderborn: F. Schöningh

Schöne, A. (1987), *Der Thiasos. Eine ikonographischen Untersuchung über das Gefolge der Dionysos in der attischen Vasenmalerei des 6. und 5. Jhs. V. Chr.* (*SIMA-PB* 55), Göteborg: P. Åström

Sedyawati, E. (1993), 'The sun in Indonesian culture.', in Singh (ed.), 191–205

Segonds, A.P. and Steel, C. (eds) (2000), *Proclus et la Théologie Platonicienne*, Leuven and Paris: Leuven University Press and Les Belles Lettres

Seltman, C.T. (1923–25), 'Eros in early Attic legend and art', *ABSA* 26: 88–105

Ševčenko, N. (2001), 'The 24 Virtues in two Comnenian Gospel Books', *XVe Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Paris, Pré-Actes II. Tables Rondes*, 97

Shapiro, H.A. (1986), 'Dike', *LIMC* III, Zurich and Munich: Artemis, 388–91

Shapiro, H.A. (1989), *Art and Cult Under the Tyrants in Athens*, Mainz: P. von Zabern

Shapiro, H.A. (1993), *Personifications in Greek Art: the representation of abstract concepts 600–400 BC*, Zürich: Akanthus

Shapiro, H.A. (1998), 'Autochthony and the visual arts in fifth-century Athens', in D. Boedeker and K.A. Raaflaub (eds), *Democracy, Empire, and the Arts in Fifth-Century Athens*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 127–51

Sharrock, A. (2002), 'An a-musing tale: gender, genre, and Ovid's battles with inspiration in the *Metamorphoses*', in Spentzou and Fowler, 207–27

Sheppard, A.D.R. (1980), *Studies on the 5th and 6th Essays of Proclus' Commentary on the Republic*, Gottingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht

Sheppard, A.D.R. (2000), 'Plato's *Phaedrus* in the *Theologia Platonica*', in Segonds and Steel (eds), 415–23

Sheppard, A.D.R. (2001), 'Image and analogy in later Neoplationism', in T. Kobush and M. Erler (eds), *Metaphysik und Religion: zur Signatur des spätantiken Denkens*, Munich nd Leipzig: K.G. Saur, 639–47

Shppard, A.D.R. (2003), 'The mirror of imagination: the influence of *Timaeus* 70e ff.', in R.W. Sharples and A.D.R. Sheppard (eds), *Ancient Approaches to Plato's Timaeus*, *BICS* Supplement 78, London: Institute of Classical Studies, 203–12

Sherwin-White, S.M. (1984), 'Asia Minor', in R. Ling (ed.), *Cambridge Ancient History* VII.1 Plates, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 33–52

Simon, E. (1986), *Die konstantinischen Deckengemalde in Trier*, Mainz: P. von Zabern

Simon, E. (1988), 'Eirene und Pax. Friedensgöttinnen in der Antike', *Sitzungsberichte der Wissenschaften Gesellschaft an der Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main*, 24: 55–69

Singh, M. (ed.) (1993), *The Sun in Myth and Art*, London: Thames and Hudson

Siorvanes, L. (1996), *Proclus. Neo-Platonic philosophy and science*, Edinburgh, and New Haven, CT: Edinburgh University Press and Yale University Press

Siorvanes, L. (1998), 'Proclus on transcendence', *Documenti e Studi sulla tradizione Filosofica medievale*, 9: 1–19

Siorvanes, L. (2000), 'The problem of truth in the Platonic theology', in Segonds and Steel (eds), 47–63

Skiadas, A.D. (1965), *Homer im griechischen Epigramm*, Athens: Griechische Humanistische Gesellschaft

Smith, A.C. (1997), *Political Personfications in Classical Athenian Art*, diss. Yales University, New Haven

Smith, A.C. (1999), 'Eurymedon and the evolution of political personifications in the early Classical period', *JHS* 119: 128–41

Smith, R.R.R. (1988), *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Smith, R.R.R. (1990), 'Late Roman philosopher portraits from Aphrodisias', *JRS* 80: 127–55

Smith, R.R.R. (1991a), *Hellenistic Sculpture*, London: Thames and Hudson

Smith, R.R.R. (1991b), 'A new portrait of Pythagoras', in R.R.R. Smith and K.T. Erim (eds), *Aphrodisias Papers 2. The Theatre, A Sculptor's Workshop, Philosophers, and Coin-types*, (*JRA* Supplement 2), Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 159–68

Snell, B. (1946), *Die Entdeckung des Geistes. Studien zur Entstehung des Europäischen Denkens bei den Griechen*, Hamburg: Claaszen and Goverts

Snell, B. and Erbse, H. (eds) (1955–), *Lexikon des Frühgriechischen Epos*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht

Snodgrass, A. (1982), 'Les origines du culte des héros dans la Grèce antique', in G. Gnoli and J.P.Vernant (eds), *La Mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes*, Paris-Cambridge, 107–19

Snodgrass, A. (2000), 'The uses of writing on early Greek painted pottery', in N.K. Rutter and B.A. Sparkes (eds), *Word and Image in Ancient Greece* (*Edinburgh Leventis Studies* 1), Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 22–34

Sommerstein, A.H. (1983), *The Comedies of Aristophanes. Vol. 4: Wasps*, Warminster: Aris and Phillips

Sommerstein, A.H. (1989), *Aeschylus: Eumenides*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Sommerstein, A.H. (1996), *Aeschylean Tragedy*, Bari: Levante Editori.

Sorabji, R. (ed.) (1990), *Aristotle Transformed*, London and Ithaca, NY: Duckworth and Cornell University Press

Soulogiannis, E. (1968), Στίχοι φερόμενοι ως φτωχοπροδρομικά εις σειρόγραφον του Αγίου Όρος, Athens

Sourvinou-Inwood, C. (1995), *'Reading' Greek Death*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Spender, D. (1990), *Man Made Language*, London: Routledge

Spentzou, E. and Fowler, D. (eds) (2002), *Cultivating the Muse: struggles for power and inspiration in classical literature*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Spyropoulos, T. (1993), 'Νέα γλύπτα αποκτήματα του Αρχαιολόγικου Μουσείου Τρίπολεθς', in O. Palagia and W. Coulson (eds), *Sculpture from Arcadia and Laconia* (*Oxbow Monograph* 30), Oxford: Oxbow, 257–68

St. Clair, A. (1996), 'Imperial virtue: questions of form and function in the case of four Late Antique statuettes', *DOP* 50: 147–62

Stafford, E.J. (1998), 'Masculine values, feminine forms: on the gender of personified abstractions', in L. Foxhall and J. Salmon (eds), *Thinking Men: masculinity and its self-representation in the Classical Tradition*, London and New York: Routledge, 43–56

Stafford, E. (2000), *Worshipping Virtues. Personification and the divine in ancient Greece*, London and Swansea: Duckworth and The Classical Press of Wales

Stafford, E.J. (2001), 'The morning after the komos before: hangovers in the ancient world', *Omnibus* 41: 10–11

Stafford, E.J. (2003), 'Brother, son, friend and healer: Sleep the god', in K. Dowden and T. Wiedemann (eds), *Sleep* (*Nottingham Classical Literature Studies* vol. 8), Bari: Levanti Editori, 70–106

Stafford, E.J. (2005) 'Vice or Virtue?: Herakles and the art of allegory', in Rawlings, L. (ed.), *Herakles-Hercules in the Ancient World*, Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales

Stanford, W.B. (1936), *Greek Metaphor*, New York and London: Blackwell

Stemmer, K. (1978), *Untersuchungen zur Typologie, Chronologie und Ikonographie der Panzerstatuen*, *Archäologische Forschungen* 4, Berlin: Mann

Stern, H. (1953), *Le Calendrier de 354: étude sur son texte et ses illustrations*, Paris: P. Geuthner

Stern, H. (1955), 'Poésies et representations carolingiennes et byzantines des mois', *Revue archéologique* 45: 141–87

Stewart, A. (1983), 'Stesichorus and the François Vase', in W.G. Moon (ed.), *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 53–74

Stewart, A. (1990), *Greek Sculpture. An exploration*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press

Stewart, A. (2000), rev. C. Schneider, *Die Musengruppe von Milet* (Mainz am Rhein 1999), *AJA* 104: 402–03

Stillwell, R. (ed.) (1941), *Antioch on the Orontes III. The Excavations 1937–1939*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Stoessl, F. (1937), 'Personifikationen', *RE* XIX, 1042–58

Stornajolo, C. (1910), *Miniature delle omilie di Giacomo monaco (cod. Vatic. gr. 1162) e dell'evangeliario greco urbinate (cod. Vatic. Urbin. 2)*, Rome: n.p.

Stratiki, K. (2002), 'Le culte des héros grecs chez Pausanias', *Bulletin de l'Assocation Guillaume Budé* I: 70–93

Strocka, V.M. (1975), 'Athens Kunst im peloponnesischen Krieg', in Alföldy et al. (eds), 46–81

Stroll, M. (1997), 'Maria *Regina*: papal symbol', in A. Duggan (ed.), *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 173–204

Strzygowski, J. (1893), 'Die Tyche von Konstantinopel', *Analecta Graeciensia*, Graz: Verlagsbuchhandlung Styria, 141–53

Stupperich, R. (1982), 'Das Statuenprogramm in den Zeuxippos-Thermen', *IstMitt* 32: 210–35

Suarez de la Torre, E. (1997), 'Neoptolemos at Delphi', *Kernos*, 10: 153–76

Taillardat, J. (1965), *Les images d' Aristophane*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres

Tallqvist, K.L. (1938), *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, Helsinki: Societas Orientalis Fennica

Tarrant, H. (2000), *Plato's First Interpreters*, London: Duckworth

Tempelis, E. (1998), *The School of Ammonius, Son of Hermeias, on Knowledge of the Divine*, Athens: Philological Society Parnassos

Thalmann, W.G. (1984), *Conventions of Form and Thought in Early Greek Epc Poetry*, Baltimore, NJ: Johns Hopkins University Press

Thériault, G. (1996), *Le culte d'Homonoia dans les cités grecques* (*Collection de l'Orient Méditerranéen* 26, *Série Épigraphique* 3), Lyons and Quebec: Maison de l'Oriebt méditerranéen and Éditions du Sphinx

Thomas, J. and Hero, A.C. (eds) (2000), *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 5 vols, Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks

Thompson, D.B. (1969), rev. D. Pinkwart, *Das Relief des Archelaos von Priene und die Musen des Philiskos* (Kallmünz 1965), *AJA* 73: 384–5

Thompson, D.B. (1973), *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Thompson, H.A. (1954), 'Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1953', *Hesperia* 23: 31–67

Thompson, H.A. (1976), *Athenian Agora Guide*, Athens

Thompson, H.A. and Wycherley, R.E. (1972), *The Athenian Agora XIV: the Agora of Athens*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Thomson, G. (1949), *The Prehistoric Aegean*, London: Lawrence and Wishart

Thornton, A. (1984), *Homer's* Iliad*: its composition and the motif of supplication*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht

Toynbee, J.M.C. (1934), *The Hadrianic School: a chapter in the history of Greek art*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Toynbee, J.M.C. (1947), 'Roma and Constantinopolis in late Antique art from 312 to 365', *JRS* 37: 135–151

Travlos, J. (1971), *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, London: Thames and Hudson

Treu, G. (1889), 'Standbilder der Ilias und Odysee zu Athen', *MDAI(A)* 14: 160–69

Trilling, J. (1982), *The Roman Heritage. Textiles from Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean 300–600 AD*, Washington, DC: Textile Museum

Trumpf, J. (1960), 'Kydonische Äpfel', *Hermes* 88: 14–22

Trypanis, C.A. (1958), *Callimachus*, London and Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Turcan, R. (2nd edn 1993), *Mithra et le mithriacisme*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres

Usener, H. (3rd edn 1948 [1895]), *Götternamen*, Frankfurt: Schulte-Bumke

Valavanis, P.D. (1991), *Panathênaikoi Amphoreis apo tên Eretria. Sumbolê stên Attikê aggeiographia toû 4ou aiôna*, Athens: Dêmosieumata tês Arkhaiologikês Etaireias

Verilhac, A.-M. and Vial, C. (1998), *Le mariage grec* (*BCH* Supplement 32), Athènes: École Française d'Athènes

Vermeule, E. (1979), *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press

Vernant, J.-P. (1989), *L'Individu, la Mort, l'Amour. Soi-même et l'autre en Grèce ancienne*, Paris: Gallimard, 153–71

Vernant, J.-P. (1991), *Mortals and Immortals*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Veyne, P. (1983), *Les Grecs ont-ils cru à leurs mythes ?*, Paris: Seuil

Volbach, W.F. (1952), *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums

Volkommer, R. (1992), 'Ker', *LIMC* VI, Zurich: Artemis Verlag, 14–23

von Bothmer, D. (1981), 'The death of Sarpedon', in S. Hyatt (ed.), *The Greek Vase*, New York: The Association, 63–80

von Hesberg, H. (1988), 'Bildsyntax und Erzählweise in der hellenistischen Flächenkunst', *MDAI(A)* 103: 333–6

Voutiras, E. (1981), 'Ein wiedergewonnenes attisches Porträt der Spätantike', *MDAI(A)* 96: 201–08

Voutiras, E. (1989), 'Περί της κρατήτειου αίρεσεθς· σκεψεις γύρθ από το ανάγλυφο από την Πριηνη', *Egnatia* 1: 129–68

Wace, A.J.B. (1929), 'Lead figurines', in Dawkins (ed.), 249–84

Walcot, P. (1957), 'The problem of the prooemium to Hesiod's *Theogony*', *Symbolae Osloenses*, 33: 37–47

Walter, H. (1960), 'Sphingen', *AuA*, 9: 63–72

Ward, J.H. (1974), 'The *Notitia Dignitatum*', *Latomus* 33: 397–434

Warner, M. (1985), *Monuments and Maidens: the allegory of the female form*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson

Webster, J.C. (1938), *The Labors of the Months in Antique and Medieval Art*, Evanston, IL: Northwestern University

Webster, T.B.L. (1954), 'Personification as a mode of Greek thought', *JWCI* 17: 10–21

Webster, T.B.L. (1966), *Hellenistic Poetry and Art*, London: Methuen

Weiss, C. (1986), 'Eos', *LIMC* III, Zurich and Munich: Artemis, 747–89

Weitzmann, K. (1951), *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Weitzmann, K. (1977), *Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination*, London: Chatto and Windus

Weitzmann, K. (ed.) (1979), *Age of Spirituality: late antique and early Christian art, third to seventh centuries*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Wernicke, K. (1896), 'Ate' in G. Wissowa (ed.), *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (*RE*) II.2, Stuttgart: Metzler, 1898–901

Wessel, K. (1978), 'Insignien', in *Reallexicon zur Byzantinischen Kunst* III, Stuttgart: Hiersemann

West, D. (1967), *Reading Horace*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

West, M.L. (1966), *Hesiod: Theogony*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

West, M.L. (1983), *The Orphic Poems*, Oxford: Clarendon

West, M.L. (1985), 'Ion of Chios', *BICS* 32: 71–8

West, M.L. (1988), *Hesiod: Theogony and Works and Days*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

West, M.L. (1994), '*Ab Ovo*. Orpheus, Sanchuniathon, and the origins of the Ionian world model', *CQ* 44: 289–307

West, M.L. (1997), *The East Face of Helicon: west Asiatic elements in Greek poetry and myth*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

West, M.L. (1999), 'The invention of Homer', *CQ* 49: 354–82

Whitman, J. (1987), *Allegory: the dynamics of an ancient and medieval technique*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Wide, S. (1893), *Lakonische Kulte*, Leipzig: Teubner

Widengren, G. (1965), *Die Religionen Irans*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer

Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. v. (1931–32), *Der Glaube der Hellenen* I/II, Berlin: Weidmann

Wilber, D.N. (1938), 'The plateau of Daphne. The springs and the water system leading to Antioch', in R. Stillwell (ed.), *Antioch on the Orontes II The Excavations 1933–1936*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 49–56

Wilkinson, L.P. (1955), *Ovid Recalled*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Willcock, M.M. (1964), 'Mythological paradeigma in the *Iliad*', *CQ* 14: 141–54

Williams, B. (1993), *Shame and Necessity*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press

William F. (1978), *Callimachus, Hymn to Apollo: a commentary*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Williamson, P. (ed.) (1996), *The Medieval Treasury*, London: Victoria and Albert Museum

Wilson, C.H. (1996) *Homer: Iliad Books VIII and IX*, Warminster: Aris and Phillips Ltd

Winkler, J.J. (1990), *The Constraints of Desire*, New York/London: Routledge

Wissowa, G. (2nd edn 1912) *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, Munich: Beck

Wood, S.E. (1999), *Imperial Women. A study in public images 40BC–AD 68*, Leiden: Brill

Wyatt, W.F., Jr. (1982), 'Homeric ᾽ATH', *American Journal of Philology*, 103: 247–76

Wyke, M. (1987), 'Written women: Propertius' *scripta puella*', *JRS* 77: 47–61

Wyke, M. (2002), *The Roman Mistress: ancient and modern representations*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Yaguello, M. (1978), *Les mots et les femmes*, Paris: Payot

Yalouris, N. (1980), 'Astral representations in the archaic and classical periods and their connection to literary sources', *AJA* 84: 313–18

Yalouris, N. and Visser-Choitz, T. (1990), 'Helios', *LIMC* V, Zurich and Munich: Artemis, 1005–34

Yamagata, N. (1991), 'Phoenix's speech – is Achilles punished?', *CQ* 41: 1–15

Yamagata, N. (1994), *Homeric Morality*, Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill

Yatromanolakis, Y. (1991), *Poleos Soma*, Athens: Kardamisa

Zaehner, R.C. (1956), *The Teaching of the Magi*, New York: Macmillan

Zagagi, N. (1985), 'Helen of Troy: encomium and apology', *WienStud* 98, 63–88

Zancani-Montuoro, P. (1954), 'Note sui soggetti e sulla tecnica delle tabelle di Locri', *Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia* 1: 71–10

Zanker, P. (1990), *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press

Zanker, P. (1995), *The Mask of Socrates: the image of the intellectual in antiquity*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press

Zeitlin, F.I. (1996), 'Eros', in S. Settis (ed.), *I Greci. Storia Cultura Arte Società. I. Noi e i Greci*, Turin: Einaudi, 369–430

Zimmern, H. (1901), *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*, Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

Index

Abstractions, 3–20, 80, 147, 171, 180, 199, 202, 231, 240
Achaeans, 25, 269, 272–3
Achaia, province, 288, 290; Proconsul, 289-90
Achilles, xxii, 9, 21–8, 48, 151, 164–5, 176, 215, 253; Shield of Achilles, 31, 54
Acusilaus, 135, 139–41
Adikia (Injustice), 13
Aegean-Eastern koiné, 3–20
Aegean Sea, 279
Aegeus, 141
Aelian, 174
Aeneas, rhetorician, 86
Aeneid, 58
Aeschines, 38
Aeschylus/Aischylos (Aiskhylos), 53, 55–6, 129, 148–9, 168, 214, 272–3; *Agamemnon*, 272–4; *Eumenides*, 273; *Oresteia*, 274; *Xantriae*, 214
Aestas (Summer), 286
Aesthetics, 123–34
Africa, proconsul, 290
Agamemnon, 9, 12, 21–4, 267, 269,
Agdistis, hermaphrodite monster, 100, 102, 105, 108
Agnoia (Ignorance), 234
Agrios, 39
Ahura Mazda (Wise Lord of Life), 16
Aidôs (Modesty, Shame), 26, 111–13
Aion (Eternity), fig. 16.4, 78, 231–2, 234, 237
Aither (Brightness of Day), 8, 36
Ajax, 22
Akkadian, 5, 6, 36
Aktaion, 39
Alcibiades, 277–8
Alcmene, 234
Aletheia (Truth), 14
Alexandria, 253, 300; Philosophical school, 84–5, 153; Tychaion, 300
Alkaios, 36
Alke (Prowess), 12
Alkestis, fig. 4.7, 4.8, 46, 51–3, 58
Alkyoneus, 46, 48, 58
Allegory, 5, 9, 84, 199, 201–2, 223–4
Alpheios, river, 252–3, 259
Amazon, 215
Ammonius, 90
Ampelius, 239
Ampelos (Vineyard), 101
Amphitrite (Nereid), 78
Amyclae, 118
Amymônê (Excellence), 78
Amun, 7
Ananeosis (Renewal), fig. 16.8, 234–5, 240–1
Anastasios, consul, fig. 20.2, 294
Anatrophe (Nurture), fig. 16.6, 232
Anaximander, 31, 118, 127
Anaxagoras, 32, 127
Andocides, 138
Andreas, proconsul, 241
Andromache, 26
Angels, 89, 298
Ankh (Life), 12
Annios, 101
Anteros, Athenian cult of, 137–8, 141–2

Antimachos, 38
Antioch, 300, 310; Antiochenes, 248; Roman Antioch, xxiii, 231–2, 238, 240, 247–64; Bath E, fig. 17.4, 255–6, 257; Baths of Apolausis, fig. 16.1–2, 231–2; Constantinian villa, 235–6, 240; House of Ge and the Seasons, fig. 16.7, 232, 240; House of Ktisis, fig. 16.10, 240; House of Menander, 232–3, 257; House of the Sea Goddess, 240; Rivers, 247–64; Tyche of Antioch, 249, 251, 259, 309
Antiphilos, 176
Antiphon, 84
Apamea, 78, 91, 231–2, 237
Aphrodisias, 37, 239–40
Aphrodite, fig. 14.3–5, 12, 27, 101, 106, 138, 141, 169, 193–6, 198; *ta aphrodisia*, 196–8
Aphthonius of Antioch, 86–7, 90
Apolausis (Enjoyment), fig. 16.2, 231–2
Apollo-Helios, 6, 25, 51, 75, 118, 120, 130–1, 141, 153–4, 216, 220, 232, 254, 258, 314
Apollodorus, 99, 107
Apollonius of Tyana, 81
Aponia (Freedom-from-toil), 194, 198
Arcadia (Arkadia) 73–5, 115–7, 131
Arcadians, 120
Arcas, 73, 75
Archegetes, 74, 76
Archelaos Relief, fig. 13.2–3, 173, 179
Archilochos, 169
Archippos, 165
Ares, 7, 18, 26, 113
Arete (Virtue), 10, 134, 215
Arethousa, nymph/river, 252
Argives, 151
Argonauts, 49
Argos (giant), 58, 131
Argos, 104, 106, 310, 320
Ariadne, 101, 279; Empress, 293
Aelius Aristides, orator, xxiii, 269, 278–82; *Panathenaic Oration*, 279; *Smyrnaean Oration I*, 279, 282; *Smyrnaean Oration II*, 281–2; *Palinode for Smyrna*, 281; *Monody for Smyrna*, 280
Aristomenes, 74–6
Aristophanes, 4, 137, 161–6, 170, 198, 221, 269, 278; *Archanians*, 171, 275 *Birds*, 167, 171; *Clouds*, 163, 275; *Frogs*, 137, 148-50, 165–7; *Knights*, 162–3, 275; *Lysistrata*, 196–7; *Peace*, 164, 166–7, 171, 219; *Triphales*, 162; *Wealth*, 171; *Wasps*, 170
Aristotle, 37, 77, 83–5
Arkhelaos, king, 128
Arkhidamos II, king, 129
Arkesilaos, 129
Arkadios, emperor, column, 300
Arktos (constellation), 29
Aroura (Arable Land), 255
Arrhephoria, festival at Athens, 136–7
Arsinoe, Queen, 19
Arsinoe III, 178
Artemidoros of Perge, 19–20
Artemis, 39, 117–8, 120, 237, 314
Asclepius, 90
Asia, proconsul, 290
Asklepiades, 168
Ate (Disaster), xxii, 21–8: (Mischief), 9
Athena, 12, 71, 95, 105, 118, 273–4, 302–3
Athena Parthenos (statue by Pheidias), 14, 95
Athena Nike, 15, 219
Athena Polias, 137
Athenaeus, 135; *Deipnosophistoi*, 234
Athenian democracy, 74
Athenian religious calendar, 136

Athenians, 71–2, 74, 114–6, 128, 163, 193, 198, 217–21, 273–5, 277
Athens, the classical city, 20, 51, 71, 84, 104, 116, 124, 128, 135, 138, 141, 163, 174, 211, 220, 222, 273–4, 279; Acropolis, 71, 79, 136, 138, 141; Agora, 177–9; Archon, 136; Demos (City, 275-8; Erechtheion, 71, Kings of, 71–2; Library of Pantainos, 177; Little Metropolis, 309, 320; Parthenon, 303; Stoa of Attalos, 177; Tyrants of, 136; Torch race, 136–8
Attic land/tribes, 72
Attica, 37, 71, 121, 128
Attis, 102
Auctoritas (Authority), 287
Autumnus (Autumn), 287
Avestan text (*Hodoxt Nask*), 10–11
Avlikomis, 314, 316

Bacchae, 54
Bacchylides, 36, 151, 170
Balsamon, Theodoros, 313
Basileia (Sovereignty), 171
Beauty, 79; Beauty contest, 237
Bel Accueil (Fair Welcome), 180
Bellerophon, 171
Bellerophontes, 39
Bendis (Thracian goddess) 35
Bible, Old Testament, 8, 319; book of Genesis, 139, 319; of Enoch, 319; Octoteuchs, 318-9; Pentateuchs, 319; Proverbs, 9–10; Psalms, 6, 9, 11; New Testament: Gospel Books, Melbourne, 318–20; Venice, 318–20; of John Komnenos, 320; Canon Tables, 318–21
Biography, pagan and Christian, 80–2; cf. hagiography, 313
Bios (Life), 254
Boeotia, 106,
Boeotian, 128–9,
Boethius, 84
Boutis, 72
Brauron, 220, 222
Brightness, 29–43; Aigle, 38
Briseis, 21
Bryennios, Nikephoros, 314
Byzantine empire, Byzantium, 77, 293–303, 309–21; Ceremonial, 298; Education, 86, 311, 315–6; Empresses, xxiii, 293–303, 313, 320; Novels, 311, 313–4; Monasticism, 320-1

Caesarea Maritima, 240
Calendar of 354, 286, 310, 312
Callicles, 277–8
Calliope, 152–3
Callimachus/Kallimachos, 170, 181
Calvos, Andreas, 283
Calypso, 271
Caria, 37
Carthage, mosaics, 296, 310
Cassiopeia, 78, 237
Castalia, spring at Delphi, cf. Kastalia, 257–8
Cecrops, 71–2, 137, 140, 142
Chaironeia, 112
Chaos, 7, 36, 139–41
Charidemos, 239–40
Charis (Grace), 213
Charites (Graces), 13, 18, 36, 38, 147, 152–3, 156, 166–8, 170–1
Charon, 47
Charmus, 135–6
Chastity, 316
Cheiron, 164–5
Chilon, 118–9
Chlamus (military cloak), 287
Chorillos, fig. 14.6, 15.6, 196, 217
Chremylos, 171

Christ, 300
Christianity, 85–6, 95, 301
Chronoi, the, fig. 16.4, 231–2, 237
Chronos (Time), 179
Chryse, fig. 14.1
Chrysostomos, John, 82, 237, 248
Cicero, 14, 287
Circe, 271
Clementinus, consul, 294
Cleomenes III, 114
Cleon (*see also* Paphlagon), 275–6
Clio, 152, 154, 168
Clytaemnestra/ Klytemnestra, 39, 46, 54, 57
Cleisthenes, 72
Comedy (*see also* Komodia), 163–4, 170–1
Commodus, emperor, 281
Concord (Homonoia), 19–20
Constantine I, emperor, 299–300
Constantine X Doukas, emperor, 313
Constantinople, 86, 298, 300, 302, 309-11, 314; Queen of Cities, 293–303
Constantius II, emperor, 298
Coptic (textile), 38, 295
Corinth, 279
Cornucopia, 296, 298
Cosmogony, Babylonian, 13; Egyptian, 7, 139; Greek, 139, 142–3; of Hermopolis, 7; Orphic, 139; Phoenician, 139; of Sanchuniathon, 139
Counterweight, 302
Courage, fig. 21.2, 316
Cratinus (*see also* Kratinos), 150
Crete, 35
Cybele (Kybele), 79, 104
Cyprus, 18, 107, 231, 253

Dacia, diocese, 288–9
Daedalus, 141
Daena (Religion), 10–11
Damascenus, 82
Damascius, 81, 86, 95, 139–40; *Life of Isidore*, 81
Daphne, Nymph, 254; (near Antioch), 249–50, 253–4, 256-8; House of the Drunken Dionysus, 255; House of Menander, fig. 17.3, 253–5; Yakto Complex, fig. 16.3; Megalopsychia, 256; Springs, Kastalia and Pallas, 256–7
David, king, 309
Death (Thanatos), xxii, fig. 4.1–8, 4.12, 13, 45–60, 111, 138
Deianeira, 46
Deimos (Anxiety), 7; (Terror), 12, 113
Delian league, 217
Delos, fig. 15.5, 37, 106, 216–7
Delphi, 169, 257
Delphic Oracle, 19, 73–4, 257–8
Demeter, 102, 104–6, 108
Demeter Erinys, 18
Demetrius, rhetor, 176
Demetrius of Phalerum, 84
Democracy, 171
Demon, satyr, 217
Demonassa, 195
Demos (the People, Populace), 148, 217
Derveni papyrus, 6
Diadem/crown, 293–6, 302
Diallage (Reconciliation), 148
Diasia, festival in honour of Zeus, 316
Digenis Akritis, epic-romance, 318
Dikaiosyne (Righteousness), fig. 16.5, 161, 164, 231, 237
Dike (Justice), fig. 14.1, 6, 7, 8–9, 13, 14, 17, 18, 36, 38, 195, 219–20, 320
Diogenes Laertius, 140
Diomedes, 25, 27
Dionysia, city festival of Athens, 163, 220

Dionysiac dance/procession, fig. 15.10, 213, 220, 222
Dionysos, fig. 15.1–2, 15.8–9, xxiii, 100–1, 106, 108, 150, 165, 211–6, 219–23, 232
Dionysos of Halikarnassos, 174
Dioscuri (Korybantes), 16
Diotima, 178
Dolon, 25
Dulcitius, 240
Dynamis/Dunamis (Strength), 78, 235, 240

Earth, see Ge
Egg, 107–9, 139
Egypt, Egyptians, xxi, 4, 107, 255
Eirene (Peace), fig. 15.8–10, 15.12, 17, 218–23, 300
Eirene, empress, 311
Eirene, *sevastokratorissa*, 311, 315, 319
Ekphrasis, 321
Elais (Olive oil) 101
Elea, 123–4
Elegy, 158
Eleusinian mysteries 33, 104
Eleusinians 137
Elis, 252
Elizabeth I, Queen, 84
Emesa, 234
En(n)odia, Thessalian goddess, 35
Eos (Dawn), 29, 32–6, 47, 53, 59
Eosphoros (star / constellation), 29
Ephesos, 51
Epidaurus, 102
Epimenides, Cretan seer, 14, 140
Erato, 152–3
Erebos (Darkness, cf. Night, also Erebus), 7–8, 36, 141
Erechtheus, 71–2, 75, 137
Erichthonius, 71, 137–8, 140
Erinyes (Furies), fig. 4.10, 4.12, 36, 38–9, 47, 55–7, 59, 99
Erinys (Fury), fig. 3.6, 4.11, 18, 23, 56–8
Eris (Strife), 7, 12, 13, 54, 221
Eros (*see also* Aphrodite), xxii, xxiv, 18, 36–7, 53, 101, 111–12, 195, 254
Eros (Love), xxii, 135–42; altar/cult at the Academy, 135–6, 138; Phanes, 139; King Eros, 315–6
Eteokles, 55, 99
Euandria (Courage), 235, 240
Euboia, fig. 15.5, 216
Eudemus, 139
Eudaimonia, fig. 14.4–5, 81, 193, 198, 222
Euergetism, 241
Eugenianos, Niketas, 313
Eukleia, fig. 14.1–2, 194–5
Eumelus, 140
Eumenides, temple at Athens, 140
Eumolpus, 137
Eunapius, 85
Eunomia (Good Order), fig. 14.1–2, 14.4–5, 17, 193–210, 220
Eupolis, 163, 165, 170
Euripides, 33, 51, 54, 151, 165, 201, 220–2; Muse of, 148–50, 155–6, 166; *Bacchae*, 219; *Hippolytos*, 201; *Ion*, 4; *Medea*, 274
Euripidean cento, 311
Eurotas (river), fig. 17.4, 255, 257–8
Eusebius, 82
Euteknia (Having Good Children), fig. 16.5, 231, 237
Euterpe, 152-3
Eutychia (Good Fortune), 194, 198
Eutychides 249
Evil, 171
Evrykomis, 314
Exekias, 138

Faith (Fides), 14, 16, 18
Faithfulness (Hebrew), 6, 9

Fates, see Moirai
Fausta, empress, 299
Felicitas (Happiness) 287
Fertility, 99–109
Filocalus, Furius Dionysius 310
Fiction, 81, 83, 199–200, 314
Flacilla, empress 293
Foce del Sele, 106
Fortuna, 17, 54, 84, 296; Wheel of Fortune, 84
François vase, 153, 212, 214
Freedom, 283
Friendship (Philotes), 12

Galene (Calm, Tranquillity), fig. 15.4, 215, 223
Gaza, Christian school at, 86
Ge (Earth), fig. 16.7, 20.3, xxiii, 71, 102, 109, 255, 296–7, 303
Gelos (Laughter), 111
Gender, 45–60, 134, 155–8, 178–80
Genre, 149, 254
Glaukon 278
globus cruciger 294–5, 297–8
Goat, fig. 8.1, 117–8
Good Fortune, xxiii, 293–303
Good Luck, 293-303
Gordion, 37
Gorgo/Gorgon's head, 12
Grace (Hebrew), 6, 9
Grammar, 236, 240
Greece, 101–2, 107, 113; the Greek city, 267-83
Greek Anthology, 175–6; cf. *Palatine Anthology*, 312
Greek poetic imagery, 161–71
Gregory Nazianzus, *Homilies*, 302
Gymnasium, 131, 253

Hades, 47, 52, 59, 99-107, 165; Bride of Hades, 103
Hadrian, emperor, 251, 256
Halicarnassos, Late Roman villa, fig. 16.9, 238–41
Haloa, festival at Athens, 104, 108
Hammurapi, Law code, 11–12
Harmonia (Harmony), fig. 14.4, 194, 198
Harpies, 47
Hearth Rich in Blessings, 296
Hebe (Youth), 13
Hector (also Hektor), 25–7, 53, 176
Hedyoinos (Sweet Wine), fig. 15.8, 219
Hedylogos (Sweet Talk), fig. 14.4, 194–6, 198
Hekate, fig. 4.10, 35, 55
Hellas, 176
Helen, 17, 18, 27, 46, 57, 165, 200, 269–70
Helena, empress, 293, 299
Helicon, Mount, 151–2
Heliodorus, 313
Helios, fig. 3.2a–b, 3.3, 29–30, 32–6, 38; As *dadouchos*, torch-bearer, 33
Hemere (Day), also Hemera, 8, 36
Hephaestus, 9, 71–2, 83, 138, 150
Hera, 12, 99, 104, 106–7, 109, 270; Statue at Argos, 104, 106
Heraclitus, 127–8
Herakles (Heracles), fig. 15.4, 10, 13, 51–2, 72–3, 148, 158, 165, 215; (shield of),47
Hermeias, 86
Hermes, fig. 15.1–2, xxii, 13, 47, 51, 53, 115, 123–34, 213, 232: Psykhopompos, 133; Toth, 16; Enagônios, 123-4, 132; *Timai*, 130
Hermogenes, *On Forms of Style* (*Peri Ideôn*), 86
Herodotus, 71, 115-6, 120
Heroes, 'foundation heroes', 258; Greek, 69-76, 260; Heroic cult, 69-70

Hesiod, xxii, 3–20, 31–2, 46–7, 56, 82, 125–6, 135, 139–40, 147–8, 154, 178; *Theogony*, 7, 32, 55, 123, 125, 138-9, 151-6; *Works and Days*, 8, 13, 31, 125
Hesperos, 29
Hestia, 36-8
Hiems (Winter), 287
Hierocles, 86
Hieroglyphs, 139
Hierophilos, sophist, 312
Himeros (Desire), fig. 14.3–4, 14.7, 193, 195–6, 198, 269–70; (Love), 12, 138
Hipparchus, 136
Hippias, 136
Hippodameia, 73
Historia, 154
Hittite, 5, 7, 12, 16; Sun God, 5, 7
Homer, fig. 13.1, 13.4, xxiii, 3–20, 21–28, 31–5, 56, 82, 92, 95, 111, 121, 125–6, 151, 168, 173–89, 200, 268–72, 279, 282; Homeric poems/hymns, 113, 311; *Hymn to Aphrodite*, 268; *Hymn to Demeter*, 268; *Hymn to Hermes*, 129-31; *Hymn to Selene*, 31–2, 34; Apotheosis of Homer from Priene, 154; Daughters of Homer, 176–81
Horace, 57–8, 181
Horai (*see also* Seasons), 36, 38, 106, 147, 152–3, 156, 218–20
Hybris, 17
Hygieia (Health), fig. 14.4, 52, 198
Hyiades (constellation) 35
Hyllichidai, 170
Hypatia, 80
Hyperion 36
Hypnos (Sleep), fig. 4.1, 4.5, 4.6, 13, 46–51, 58, 111, 138

Iamblichus, 78–9, 85–6, 93
Ibycus (Ibykos), 36, 141
Icon, idol (*eidolon*), 92–5, 164, 200, 300
Iliad, fig. 13.4–5, 13.9, xxi, xxiii, 7, 9, 12, 31, 47–9, 53, 125, 155, 173–89, 196
Illyricum, prefect, 288
Indoeuropean, 4, 8, 18, 30, 60
Inscriptions, 235, 238–40, 252, 256–7, 287; 'primary inscriptions' (*dipinti*), 211–2; verse inscriptions, 239
Intellect (Mens), 14, 83, 89
Ioke (Pursuit), 12
Ion of Khios, 123–4, 128–9; Hymn to Kairos, 123–4, 129
Ione, early settlement at Antioch, 259
Iris, 29, 34–6
Iris-Laodice, 269
Isaac of Antioch, 300
Isaac Komnenos, 319
Ishtar, 5
Isidore, 81, 86
Isis, 15, 79
Israel, 107
Italia, diocese, 288–9
Italy, 107, 123
Ithaca, 271
Ivory, plaques, 293, 297; Barberini, 294; Consular diptych, 294, 296, 300; Orestes diptych, 296
Ixion, fig. 3.6, 4.12, 57

Jahweh, 9, 11, 15
Jason, fig. 4.3, 48
Jerash, mosaics, 310, 320
John I Komnenos, emperor, 311, 320
John Komnenos, nephew of Manuel I, 316
Julian, emperor, 78–9, 86, 90–91, 248, 257; *Misopogon*, 248
Juno, 299
Jupiter, 17, 93, 299

Justice (Hebrew), 8–9, 11–12, 14–15, 18
Justin and Sophia cross, 296
Justinian, emperor, 297

Kairos (Opportunity), xxii, 78, 123–34, 237; *kairos, kairios*, 125–6
Kakia (Vice), 10
Kale, fig. 14.4
Kallynteria, festival at Athens, 136
Kalykadnos, river, 251
Karpo (Fruits), 255
Kebes (*Pinax*), 3
Kephisodotos' statue of Eirene and Ploutos, 14, 222
Ker, 45–7, 53–4, 59
Keres, 53–5, 58–9
Kilikia (Cilicia), 251–2, 259
Kinesias, lyric poet, 161
Kittu (Akkadian god, Order), 5–6, 13, 15
Kleopatra, fig. 14.5
Kleros (the voting lot), 237
Klimakos, John 320
Klytemnestra (*see* Clytaemnestra)
Knidians, 169
kollyba,107
Kolophon, 176
Komodia (*see also* Comedy), 149, 154, 217
Komododidaskalia, 162–3
Kore, 102–4
Kourion, 240
Krates, 163
Kratinos, 163–5, 170; *Pytine*, 163–4
Kratisthenes, 316–7
Krisis (Judgement), 78, 237
Kronia festival at Athens, 137
Kronos, 22, 151
Ktisis (Foundation or Acquisition), fig. 16.7, 16.10, 232, 235, 240–1, 296
Kudoimos, 54
Kydnos, river, 251
Kypria, epic, 18
Kypselos (Cypselus), chest, 13, 55, 138

Labels (see name labels)
Lachares, 86
Lacedaemonians, 111–12, 120
Laconia, 111–21
Ladon, river, fig. 17.3, 254, 257
Lakedemonia (river), fig. 17.4, 255
Language, 83
Law (Nomos), 82, 121
Leda, 18, 254
Lemnos, fig. 15.5, 216
Leucadians, 141
Leuctra, 111
Libanius, 86, 238, 247–9, 259; *Antiochikos*, 247, 249, 257
Liberal Arts, 84
Light (*phos*, brightness), 29–39, 140
Limos (Hunger), 11–2
Litai (Prayers), xxii, 9, 21–28
Livy, 17
Lokroi, reliefs at, 101
Longinus, 85, 174
Longus, 313
Love, *see* Eros
Lusoi, 118
Lycomedes, 141
Lycosoura, 104
Lygos (withy), 104
Lysimachus, king, 237
Lyssa (Madness), 36, 38

Macedonia, diocese, 288–9; Vicar, 289–90
Macrobius, 84, 234; *Saturnalia*, 234
Maenads, xxiii, 211–30; Methyse, fig. 15.2–3; Tethys, fig. 15.1, 15.5, 214, 216; musical maenads, fig. 15.5

Maenalus, 73
Magna Graecia, 128
Magnes, 163
Mainas (a mad woman), 214
Makaria (Blessedness), 194, 198
Makrembolitis, Eumathios, 311, 313–19, 321; *On the adventures of Hymene and Hysmenias*, 311, 313–4, 316–7
Malalas, John, 257, 300
Manasses, Constantine, 313
Manilius, 174
Mantinea, 73
Manuel I Komnenos, emperor, 311, 315
Marathon, battle of, xxii, 114–5, 117
Marcus Aurelius, emperor, 86, 281
Marinus, *Life of Proclus*, 80–1
Marsyas, 39, 232, 235
Martianus Capella, 84
Maximus of Ephesus, 86
Medea, 46, 54
Megalopsychia (Great-spiritedness, Generosity) fig. 16.3, 17.5, 231–2, 256–7, 259–60, 309
Melanippides, lyric poet, 161–2
Melanthios, 167
Meles, the Athenian, 137, 141
Meles, river, 282
Melpomene, 152, 154, 218
Memnon, 49, 53
Menander Rhetor, 297
Menelaos, 221
Menoikeus, 99
Menouthis, 300
Menstrual blood, 103–5
Mercy, 320
Messene, Messenians, 74–5
Mesopotamia, 5, 36, 251, 259
Metaphor, 82–3, 92, 147, 175–6, 163, 267–9, 278
Mêtis, 130
Milon, 106
Mime, pantomime, 236
Minerva, 299, 302
Misharu (Akkadian god, Right), 5, 7, 13, 15
Mithras, 16, 18
Mithradates, 16
Mnemosyne (Memory), 147, 150, 152, 154
Moira (Fate), 23, 52, 133–4
Moirai (Fates), 46, 58, 89
Months, xxiv; Labours of the Twelve Months, 309–21; January, fig. 21.1, 309–10, 319; February, fig. 21.1, 319; March, 312, 316, 319; May, 309–10, 312; August, 309–10; September, 319; October, 309; December, fig. 21.1
Moros, 46, 58
Mors (Death), 57–8
Morsimos, 167
Mosaics, 231–46, 247–64, 293, 295, 297
Mousa (muse), 147, 150, 216
Mousai (the Muses, *see also* Muses), 166–7, 170–1, 248
Mousike (Music), 149, 153, 161–2, 164, 171
Muses, xxii, xxiii, 14, 147–59
Mycenae, fig. 3.1a, 30, 273
Mysia, 281
Myth, 8–9, 87, 90–1, 147

Name-labels (see also inscriptions), xxiii, 78, 80, 212, 233, 235, 238, 250
Nana, 102
Nea Paphos, Cyprus, 231–3; House of Aion, fig. 16.6, 232, 235, 237
Neikos (Quarrel), 127
Nemean lion, 215
Nemesis, 17–18, 148
Nemesios, 18

Neoboule, 169
Neo-Platonic education, 95
Neo-Platonism, 77–95
Neo-Platonist philosopher, fig. 6.1, 77–95
Neo-Platonist scholarchs, , 86
Neo-Platonist school, Athens, 79, 85
Neo-Pythagorean philosopher, 81
Nereids, 151–2, 215–6, 237, 255
Nestor, 25
Nicolaus, 85–8
Night (Nyx, Dusk, Midnight and Dawn), 8, 13, 34, 36, 38–9, 46, 138
Nike (Victory), fig. 3.5, 14.1, 14, 36–7, 46, 52, 78, 148, 237, 298, 303
Nile, river, 255
Nimbus, 33
Nineveh, 11
Nonnus, *Dionysiaka*, 253
North Africa, 295
Nostos, 270–1
Notitia dignitatum, xxiii, 285-91; *Pars Occidentis*, 286; *Pars Orientis*, 286, 288–9
Nous (Mind), 79, 89,127, 134
Numa, ruler of Rome, 16
Numenius of Apamea, 83
Nurses, 213, 223
Nymphs, 213–5, 223, 232, 282; 'palaces of the nymphs', 249

Ocean, 174, 214
Odysseus, 22, 25, 83, 112, 176, 270–2
Odyssey, fig. 13.4, 13.6, 13.9, xxiii, 27, 31, 173–89, 196, 270–2
Oenone, 254
Oinomaos, 73
Old Comedy, xxiii, 148–50, 157, 163
Olympia, 72–3, 75, 106, 123–4, 128–9, 131–4; Altars of Hermes and Kairos, 123–4, 132; Altis, 72–3; *Stadion*, 123; Temple to Zeus, 123
Olympian gods, xxi, 39, 89, 147
Olympic Games, 73, 131-4
Olympiodorus, 84
Olympus, home of the gods, 23; home of the Muses, 151
One (the supreme One), 79, 83, 89
Opora (Harvest, Autumn), fig. 15.8, 15.11, 171, 218–9
Ops (Plenty), 16
Orchomenos, 18
Order (Ma'at), 13, 15, 18
Orontes, river, 251
Orphic gods, 89, 108
Orphic rites, 108, 139
Orestes, fig. 4.13, 57, 74, 221
Oresteia, 38
Oresthasion, men of, 74–6
Origen, 82
Orion, 99–101; (constellation), 29, 100–1, 106, 109
Orpheus, 6
Ouranos (Heaven) , 139
Ovid, 157–9, 175; *Metamorphoses*, 34, 253

Paidia (Play, Amusement), fig. 14.4–7, 85, 193, 196–8, 217–8, 222
Paideia (culture, learning), xxii, xxiii, 231–46
Painters: Amphitrite Painter, fig. 4.12; Attic vase painters, xxiii; Beldam Painter, fig. 4.10; Bowdoin Painter, fig. 4.4, 4.11, 49, 56; Brooklyn-Budapest Painter, fig. 4.13; Chicago Painter, 213, 215; Coghill Painter, 217; Dinos Painter, fig 15.8, 213, 218–9; Diosophos Painter, fig. 3.2b; Eretria Painter, fig. 15.5, 213, 215–6, 218; Euphronios, fig. 4.1, 48, 215; Galaton, painter, 173; Group of Naples, fig, 15.9; Harrow

Painter, fig. 15.4; Heidelberg Painter, fig. 3.3, 32; Helena, painter, 78; Jena Painter, fig. 15.6, 217; Kadmos Painter, 221; Kodros Painter, 213; Kokkinobaphos Master, 319–20; Kraipale Painter, fig. 15.7, 218; Meidias Painter, xxiii, 193–210, 221; Methyse Painter, 213, 215; Oltos, painter, 213, 215; Quadrate Painter, fig. 4.6, 51; Thanatos Painter, fig. 4.5; Underworld Painter, 33; Villa Giulia Painter, 213–5
Painters' signatures, 212
Palaiologos, George, 318
Palinurus, 58
Pamphylia, 100
Pan, xxii, 112, 114-21
Panathenaia/Panathenaea, xxii, 135–42
Pandora, 13
Pandrosus, 72
Panegyric, xxiii, 290–1
Paphlagon (*see also* Cleon), 275–6
Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai, 300–2
Paris, 27, 254, 270
Paris Psalter, 309
Parmenides, 6, 82
Parthenion, Mount, 115
Pathemata (states of the body), xxii, 111–12, 121
Patroclus/Patroklos, 21, 24–6, 49, 54–5
Paulinus, P.C. Maximus, governor of Smyrna, 281
Pausanias, 55, 69-76, 104, 112, 123–4, 131, 135-9, 141
Peace (*shalom*), 9, 18, 171
Pegasus, 171
Peisistratus, 135–8, 140–1
Peitho (Persuasion), fig. 14.5, 13, 78, 147, 196, 198, 211
Peleus, 18
Peloponnese, 73, 117, 124, 128
Peloponnesian War, 198, 218, 222
Pelops, king of Pisa, 72–3, 75, 282; Pelopeion, 72–3
Penelope, 46, 112, 176, 271–2
Pericles, 274–7
Permessos, 151
Persephone, 102–4, 106, 108–9
Persepolis, 11
Persia, Persians, 16, 20, 115, 259
Persona (mask/character in a play), 84, 285
Phaeacians, 271
Phaedo, 82
Phaidra, 201
Phaleron, 115
Pherekrates, 161–2; *Cheiron*, 161
Pherekydes, 52, 135, 139–40
Phidippides (Philippides), 114–6
Phigalia, 75–6; Phigalians, 75
Philia (Affection), 127
Philodemus, 140
Philoktistos, 241
Philon of Byblos, 15
Philoponus, John, 86
Philosopher portraits, 177
Philosophia, fig. 16.5, 84, 231, 237, 277
Philosophy, 77–95, 126–7
Philostratus, 81, 106, 278; *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, 81
Phoibaion, 120
Phoibe, 120
Phobos (Fear), xxii, 12, 111–21; (Terror), 7; (Rout), 116
Phocis, 74
Phocus, 74
Phoenix/Phoinix, 9, 21–4
Phokaia, 124
Phosphoros (star/constellation), 29, 33

Phronesis (Good Sense), 309
Phrynichus, 150
Phrynis, lyric poet, 161–2
Pieria, 152, 177
Peiros, 168
Peisetairos, 171
Phaon, 195
Pig, 105
Pindar, xxiii, 3, 18, 37, 39, 128–9, 151, 169, 171; Victory Odes, 128, 169
Plane (Error), 232
Plataiai, 20
Plato, xxiii, 6, 37, 77, 79, 81–2, 84–5, 92, 94–5, 111, 178–9, 200–1, 269, 274, 277: *Apology*, 81; *Critias*, 81; *Crito*, 82; *Gorgias*, 85, 90, 277; *Laws*, 6, 17; *Phaedrus*, 6, 85, 178, 180; *Phaedo*, 81; *Republic*, 149, 178, 278; *Symposion*, 129, 178; *Thaeatetus*, 178; *Timaeus*, 81
Platonic Academy at Athens, 81, 83, 85,
Pleiades, 36, 100
Plotinus, 79–81, 83, 85, 89; *Enneads*, 83, 89, 93
Plutarch, 16, 111–13, 119–20, 135–7, 141; *Life of Solon*, 135, 140; *Quaestiones Conviviales*, 234
Pluto, 102-3, 106, 109
Plynteria, festival at Athens, 136
Poiesis (Poetry), 149, 154, 161, 165–6, 171
Polemos (War), 114, 219
Polydamas, 26
Polygnotos, 169, 213
Polymnia, 152, 154
Polyneikes, 55, 99
Polyphemos, 177
Pomegranate, 99–109
Pompaios, 124
Pompeii, 179, 253
Porphyry, 77, 80, 83, 85, 91, 94–5; *Contra Christianos*, 93; *Life of Plotinus*, 80; *On Statues*, 83
Poseidon, 18, 73, 78, 237
Poseidon-Erechtheus, priest of, 137
Pothos (Desire, Yearning), fig. 14.3–4, 139, 194-6, 198
Poverty, 171
Praeneste, 17
Praetorian prefect, 288–9
Presocratic philosophers, 31
Priam, 26–7
Processions (public), 236–8
Proclus, 80–2, 85–6, 88–90, 92–5; *Commentary on Plato's Parmenides*, 81, 93, 95; *Commentary on Plato's Republic*, 82; *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, 89; *Platonic Theology*, 89, 92
Prodikos (Prodicus), sophist, 10, 148
Prodromos, Manganeios, 315
Prodromos, Theodore, 311–13, 318–9, 321; *Rhodanthe and Dosikles*, 314
Proklos (*Hymn*), 32
Prosopopoeia, 3, 82, 87–8, 148, 176, 212–3, 267 note 1
Prostitute, 149, 165–6; *Hetaira*, 163, 197
Prudence (Sophrosyne), fig. 21.2, 316
Prudentius, 84; *Psychomachia*, 3
Psalis, fig. 17.3, 254
Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *Celestial Hierarchy*, 89
Pseudo-Nonnus, 302
Pseudo-Plutarch, 161; *On Music*, 161
Psykhê/Psyche (Soul), 127, 254
Ptolemy IV, 179
Pusán, Indian god, 118
Pyramos, 251–2, 257
Pyrilampes, 277
Pythagoras, 81, 127–8

Pythagorean number theory, 127, 129
Quintilian, 84–5, 174–6

Ravenna, church of San Vitale, 293, 296
Re, Egyptian Sun god, 15
Rhamnus, 17–18
Rhetoric, 3, 5–6, 10, 18, 78, 83–6, 148, 236
Rhodes, 32, 75
Rhoio (Roiè, Pomegranate), 101
Righteousness (Hebrew), 5–6, 11–12, 18
Rigveda, 140
River gods, xxiii, 247
Roman de la Rose, 180
romanitas, 248
Rome, 16, 279, 298, 300, 302, 309; Roman bureaucracy, 285–91; emperors, 237, 249, 287–8, 290, 294, 298–9, 301; empire, 247, 249, 258–9, 286; empresses, 293–6, 298–9; imperial court, 286; imperial cult, 301; imperial ideology, 288, 293–5; state, 237
Ruah (Semitic breath, blowing), 139

Sacra scrinia, 286–7
Ṣädäq/Suduk (Justice), 6, 15,16, 18
Sallustius, 85, 90
Salutarius, C. Vibius, 237–8
Salus (Health), 16
Samos, 106
Sangarios, river, 102
Sappho, 37, 140, 142
Saros, river, 251
Sarpedon, fig. 4.1, 47–50
Satyrs, fig. 15.5, xxiii, 211–4, 216
Sausage-seller, the, 275–6
sceptre, 293–5, 297–9
Scientia rei militaris (Science of military matters), 287
Sculptors, Jason the Athenian, 177; Kephisodotos (Eirene), fig. 15.12, 14; Pheidias (Athena Parthenos), 14, 95
Scythopolis, mosaic, 310, 320
Seasons (Horai), fig. 16.7, 13, 17–18, 147, 218, 238, 287–8, 296, 316
Selene (moon), 29–30, 32–4, 38, 106
Selinoi, 214
Seleucia (Seleukeia), 250, 252 agora, Roman mosaic, fig. 13.9, 177, 179; house of Cicilia, mosaic, fig. 17.1, 250–2, 256–7, 259; house of Porticoes (rivers), fig. 17.2, 252–3, 257
Seleucus, founder of Antioch, 247, 258
Semitic language, 4, 9
Seneca, 58
Sennacherib, 11
Servius Tullius, 17
Seven Sages, 126
Shahba-Philippolis, Syria, 231–2
Shamash, Sun God, 5, 7, 11, 13
Sicily, 193, 252, 258
Side (Pomegranate), xxii, 99–109
Sikinnos, 213, 218
Silpius, Mount, 249
Simonides, 170
Sirens, 155, 177
Sisyphos, 52–3
Sitalkes, king of the Thracians, 275
Skira, festival at Athens, 137
Skylla, 177
Skyros, 74
Sleep, *see* Hypnos
Smyrna, 269
Snake, serpent, 56, 104, 140; Holy serpent of Athena, 140
Socrates, 78, 81–2, 93, 148, 180–81, 277–8, 282
Sol Invictus (Unconquered Sun), 299

Solomon, 9–10
Solomos, Dionysios, 283
Solon, 126, 132, 136; Seven Ages of Man, 132
Somnus (Sleep), 58
Sopatros, 85, 91
Sophia (Wisdom), 300, 303
Sophocles/Sophokles, 129, 168–9; *Ajax*, 32; *Antigone*, 52; *Oedipus Coloneus*, 274; *Thamyras*, 168
Sophon (the Wise), 127
Sosthenes, 316
Soteria (Safety), fig. 16.1, 231–2, 237
Sovereignty (and symbols, throne) 11, 171, 293–6 *See also* diadem, sceptre
Sparta, 111–21, 131, 194
Spartans, 74–5, 111–21, 132, 218, 222; *Ephors* (*ephoreia*) of Sparta, 112, 119–20; Inferiors of Sparta, 119; Sanctuary of Orthia, fig.8.1, 117–8, 120
Spermo (Grain/Sperm), 101
Sphinx, 12, 55, 59, 255
Staphylos (Grape), 101
St Cuthbert, silk, 296
Stephanus of Byzantium, 201
Stasis (Dissention), 221
Stesichore, 153
Stesichoros, 166, 200
Strabo, 141
Stupidity, 10
Sumerians, 4–5
Sun, *see* Helios
Swan, 254
Symbol, symbolism, 73–6, 92–5, 99–109
Symeon the New Theologian, 320
Symeon Stylites, 300
Syndexioi (Lat. *dexteris*), 16–17
Syracuse, 252
Syria, 247–8, 251, 253, 259, 295
Syrianus, 81, 86

Tacticus, Aeneas, 117
Talos, fig. 4.2, 4.3, 35, 48–9
Tanagra, 131
Tantalus, 73
Tartaros, 171
Tatius, Achilles, 313
Taurus, the Bull, 35–6
Tegea, 74, 115
Tegeans, 120
Terpsichore, 152–4, 169
Thalea (Good Cheer), 216
Thalia (Bounty), 152, 154, 215–7
Thamyris, 151, 155, 168–71,
Thargelia, festival, 216
Theatra (literary salons), 316
Theatre, 10, 285, 291; Theatrical performances, 236, 238, 285, 291; Theatrical masks, 154, 285
Thebes, 99
Thebes, Egypt, 7
Theia, 36
Themis, 17–18, 219–20
Themistios, 18
Themistokles, 18
Themistodoros, 18
Themistios (month in Thessaly), 18
Theodora, empress, fig. 20.1, 293, 296
Theodosios I, emperor, Missorium, 296
Theodosios II, emperor, 296
Theognis, 126
Theogonia (Divine Birth), 232
Theogony, 78
Theophrastus, 83
Theoria (Festival Embassy), 219–22
Theoros, 275
Therapne, 12
Theron, 169
Theseus, 74, 141
Thesmophoria, festival 100, 104–5

Thespiae, 18, 139
Thetis, 18
Thisbe, 252–3
Thoughtfulness, fig. 21.2
Thrasyboulos, 169–70
Thrasydaios, 169
Thucydides, 111, 121, 272–5
Thymedia (Thymelia?), 218
Tibullus, 58
Tigris, river, 251, 257
Timagoras, 137–8, 141–2
Timotheos, lyric poet, 161–2
Timotheos of Miletos, 220
Titans, 15
Tiryns, fig. 3.1b, 30
Tragedy (Tragodia), 154, 158, 166, 217
Trajan, emperor, 251
Trier, palace paintings, 296
Tritons, 255
Trojan War, 215
Trojans, 24–5, 176,
Tronis, 73–4, 76
Troy, 26–7, 176, 200, 268–9
Trygaios, 171, 219
Tryphe (Luxury), 232, 254
Tychai (Fortunes) of cities, xxiii, 251, 259, 293–303, 309
Tukhê (Fortune), 130, 133–4
Turkey, 231
turreted crown, 293, 295
Typhoeus, 171
Typika (monastic foundation charters), 315
Tyrtaeus, 112

Ugarit, 15–16
Underworld (*see also* Hades), 102–4, 106–7
Urania, 152, 154

Valentinus, 310
venatores (hunters), 260
Venus, 299
Verina, empress, 302
Vernus (Spring), 287
Vice, 148, 158, 320
Virgin Mary, 302–3
Virtus (Virtue), 148, 158, 287
Virtues, xxiv, 81, 316, 319–20
'visual literacy', 236

Wealth-Bringing Woman, 296—7, 298, 301–3
Wisdom *(hakmah)*, 9–10
'woman', the feminine, 54, 58, 60, 148, 150, 155–8, 162–3, 165, 179–80, 212, 217, 223, 232, 268–9, 293–5, 298

Xanthippus, 74
Xenokrates 169
Xenophon, 10, 148

Youth, 132

Zacharias of Mitylene, 300
Zarathustra, 16
Zeus, 9, 12, 17, 18, 22–4, 26, 52, 73, 83, 123, 127, 132, 150–2, 154, 171, 234–5, 253, 267, 270, 302, 314; Zeus Eleutherios, 20; Zeus Hypatus, 71; Zeus Oúrios, 124; Zeus Polieus, 137

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

Index of Modern Authors

Aellen, Christian, 57
Alroth, B, 118
Auden, W. H., 158
Balty, Janine and Jean, 78, 234
Bassett, S.G., 300
Bazant, Jan, 49
Beazley, J.D., 49
Behr, C.A., 279, 282
Bergren, Anne, 156
Borgeaud, Ph., 115-8
Bowersock, G.W., 78
Brodsky, Joseph, 149–51, 159
Bunyan, John, 3
Burkert, Walter, 56, 136
Cartledge, Paul, 113
Chantraine, P., 114
Chaucer, Geoffrey, 84
Cohon, R., 153–4
Darmon, J.-P, 234
Deckers, Johannes 235–6
Deubner, Ludwig, 5
Downey, Glanville, 233, 241
Dumézil, G., 16
Ellis, Simon, 239
Fränkel, Charlotte, 212
Garland, R., 114–5
Gibbon, Edward, 285, 288
Gombrich, E.H., 55, 147, 153
Gotch, Thomas Cooper, fig. 4.14, 59
Gomme, A.W., 274
Grimm, Jacob, 5
Hall, Edith, 149
Hampe, R., 194, 199
Hani, J., 112
Hanson, V.D., 114
Harriott, Rosemary, 151
James, Liz, 309
Johnston, Sarah Iles, 56
Jost, M., 116–7
Kaster, Robert, 240
Kondoleon, Christine, 296
Kossatz-Deissmann, Annelise, 212
Lamberton, Robert, 84
Leader-Newby, Ruth, 256
Lesky, A., 279
Levi, Doro, 126, 232–5, 248, 251–3
Loraux, N., 114, 155, 157
Maguire, Henry, 296
Metzler, Dieter, 194, 199
Müller, Max, 4
Murray, Penelope, 218
Nagler, Michael, 268
Nilsson, Martin, 14–15
Nisbet, R.G.M. and Hubbard, M., 57–8
Nuttall, A.D., 155, 157
Onions, John, 125
Osborne, Robin, 214, 223
Padgett, Michael, 214
Raeck, Wulf, 235–6
Reeder, Ellen, 54, 59
Reid, Jane Davidson, 153
Robertson, N., 138
Rogers, Guy, 237
Roueché, Charlotte, 239
Schefold, K., 138
Seltman, C.T., 138
Ševčenko, Nancy, 320
Sharrock, Alison, 157
Simon, Erika, 219
Smith, R.R.R., 299
Sommerstein, Alan, 149

Sorabji, Richard, 78
Snodgrass, Anthony, 211
Spenser, Edmund, 89
St Clair, Archer, 301
Stafford, Emma, 219
Thalmann, W.G., 152
Toynbee, Arnold, 299
Usener, Hermann, 3, 5, 8
Vermeule, Emily, 47, 52–3
Warner, Marina, 58, 149
West, Martin, 46, 55, 139
Whitman, J., 147–8
Wide, S., 120
Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U., 15
Wilber, D.N., 256
Wyke, Maria, 159
Yaguello, Marina, 45, 60
Yamagata, Naoko, 9